

Robert A. Wilson
DIALOGUE

BETWEEN

Timothy and Philatheus :

In which the
PRINCIPLES and PROJECTS

Of a late whimsical Book, intid'd,

(*The Rights of the Christian Church.*)

A R E

Fairly Stated and Answer'd in their
kinds, &c.

Written by a Layman.

VOL. II.

The Deceived and the Deceiver are His. He leadeth Councillors away Spoiled, and maketh the Judges Fools. He looseth the Bond of Kings, and girdeth their Loins with a Girdle. He leadeth Princes away Spoiled, and overthroweth the Mighty. He removeth away the Speech of the Trusty, and taketh away the Understanding of the Aged. He poureth Contempt upon Princes, and weakeneth the strength of the Mighty. He discovereth deep things out of Darkness, and bringeth out to Light the Shadow of Death. He increaseth the Nations, and destroyeth them : he enlargeth the Nations, and Straieth them again. He taketh away the Heart of the chief of the People of the Earth, and causeth them to wander in a Wilderness where there is no Way. Job. 12. 16. to 25.

L O N D O N :

Printed for BERNARD LINTOTT, at the Cross-Keys between the Two Temple-gates in Fleet-street. 1710.

TRIAL OGLE

BETWEEN

Timothy and Philip

in which the

Principles and Projects

Of the Universal Book

(Or Universal Library)

AND

Fairly stated and Answered in their

Kind

Witness

42.

6. 11.

4.

LONDON

Printed for Bernard Lintott, at the Two-Two
between the Two Temples in Fleet-Street. 1710.

TO

The Right Reverend Father in God

JONATHAN,

By Divine Permission,

Lord Bishop of *Winchester*,

Prelate of the most Noble Order
of the Garter.

MY LORD!

IN addressing to YOUR
LORDSHIP, I know not
which to implore first,
Your Pardon, or Protection,
or Your Pity rather than
both; I am very sensible, that

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the

The Dedication.

the following *Dialogue* is unworthy so good a Cause, or so Great a Patron, tho' it be exactly fitted to so wretched an Adversary. Happy were our Ancestors! that had to do with modest Hereticks, and serious Infidels! We are sunk and fallen into the very Lees and Dregs of Degeneracy, and the Impudence of Contradiction is grown so flagrant and outrageous, that it breaks through all the sacred Bounds of Doctrine and Discipline, is turned loose into a Wilderness of Frenzy and Enthusiasm, and has sanctify'd a Jest and

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made

The Dedication.

made banter Orthodox: It is with the utmost Regret and Reluctance, that I take the Place of the many Learned of former and latter Ages, and am ashamed that Rallery: should be heard, where the Voice of the Charmer could not prevail; It is the Baseness of the Enemy, that has occasion'd this Conduct; were I Master of all those Reasons (as who is not Master of some in a Church so Gloriously Illuminated) which have strengthen'd our most Holy Profession against all its Adversaries, and have at length reduc'd

The

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the

The Dedication.

the harden'd Infidel, to his
last Refuge, *the Laughter*
of Fools and Mockery of
Scorners, yet I should dis-
dain to prostitute them
upon a grinning insensible
Reprobate ; The Way of
old was, that they who ne-
glected to hear the Voice of
Wisdom, were immediate-
ly deliver'd over to their
own Folly and the Chastise-
ment of *Satan* : but there
is now a middle Stage to
be pass'd : The Droll must
succeed the Disputant : and
where all Religion is repre-
sented as *Craft*, Men ex-
pect to be outwitted, be-
fore they are convinc'd.

The

The Dedication.

The Wifest *Pagan* that e-
ver liv'd, found but a short
distance between the The-
atre and the Tribunal, the
Farce and the Tragedy :
Even the great Founder of
Christianity himself was
mock'd and set at naught :
and shall Vice and Folly
escape that Punishment,
which was ordain'd only for
them, and which they on-
ly can deserve ? Modern
Atheism, is too much like
old Superstition : As this
made Augurs and Sooth-
fayers, the other will make
Satyrs and Banterers : and
it is not the first time, that
a befotted Wretch has pre-

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fer'd the Chattering of
Birds, or the Entrails of
a Brute, to the Lessons of
a Philosopher, or the Di-
ctates of an Oracle; Inno-
cent Mirth was always al-
low'd, and surely there is
some Merit in that Mirth,
which was design'd for the
defence of Vertue; Well
therefore may I expect more
Compassion than Envy, for
when an Adversary glories
in his weakness, who can
be proud of the Victory?
There is an Impertinence
in serious good Sense, where
only Rallery is to the Pur-
pose; and yet how diffi-
cult, how near the *Stoick*
is

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is it, to humour an Age
with Pleasantry, when one
is in pain for its degenera-
cy? The Sufferings of the
Church have always been
too hard for the most cup-
tious Inventions of Cru-
elty and Oppression: The
Engins of a Slaughter-
house, or the Tortures of
an *Inquisition*, afford Mat-
ter of Bravery and Triumph
to the virtuous: But Ri-
dicule, unless return'd, is
insupportable: a generous
Spirit had rather dye than
be ridiculous. *The coming*
of Scoffers is the last great
Disaster, that is to precede
the Ruin of all things: and
when

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when Shame, *which is the Promotion of Fools*, is made the Punishment of the Wise and the Good, all the Powers of Language and Eloquence must be debas'd and abus'd, and 'tis an act of Justice to Nature, as well as to Religion, to restore the Agreement between Words and Things, and to point the Satyr the right way ; Reprobacy it self would be taking and infectious, if not thus prevented : and if 'twere suffer'd to disguise Vertue, and make it black and odious, it might more easily disguise it self and make Vice
white

The Dedication.

white and lovely; We have the Best and Noblest Precedents to justify our Conduct and Disdain of such Enemies, the God that once appear'd on Earth, will teach us to *Despise those that Despise him*, and he that dwelleth in Heav'n, will *Laugh them to scorn, and have 'um in Derision.*

The *Book of Rights* is the Lowest Defect, and most Remote Extream that ever deviated from the Golden *Medium* of Legal Liberty, as much the Glory of the Subject as Legal Power is of the Sovereign; 'Tis an Affront to the Publick, when

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when Men are not Contented to be Tolerable, but aim at Censure, and write up to the Glory of being *Call'd to an Account*; Such Daring Offenders are Proud to be thought Worthy a Publick Resentment: When the Mischief grows Trifling and Inconsiderable, the Wretched Projector meets with the Worst Sort of Punishment, Common Contempt; How Mortify'd is such a One, when he finds the Age not so Degenerate as he would have it? When neither the Lust of the Multitude, nor the

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the Malice of Faction, nor
Passion of Parties, will ad-
mit his Proposals, or *Join*
with him to do Evil; It
may seem Little and De-
grading to implore the Aid
of those Forces, which
have rescu'd *Europe* from
Destruction, against every
Little troublesome Medler,
that makes a Mock of
Confusion, that wraps up
Wild-Fire in Writing, and
Rebells in a Sheet of Foul
Paper; But there is some
Modesty in doing Mischief:
We bear with that which
is not Formidable: Let the
few Adventurers retire be-
times, and divert them-
selves

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selves with the Satisfaction
of having attempted a
Brave Piece of Villany:
'tis their sure Ruin if they
Increase their Numbers, for
that Government which
will not endure to hear of
our being in Danger, will
much less bear to see us
so. What Notions must
Men have of the Age, and
Country, they live in?
How Low, how Mean,
how Degenerate must they
think it, who dare pre-
sume to show Vice in its
proper Colours, and to
pass it upon the World
without Disguise? Surely
they Mistake their Region,
when

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when they, and their Fellow Angels of Darkness, appear in their own Shape, and have no Need of Transformation. Can it be expected, that all those Combustible Humours, that possess our Region, should Cool and grow Temperate, when Drakes and Meteors fly about, and Walking Fires haunt even the Holy Ground? The Fierceness of the Flame will devour some, and the Light of it Mislead Others: and they that escape, must stand by and entertain themselves, with the Miraculous but Dismal Idea,
of

The Dedication.

of a Nation that burneth,
and is not consumed. A wol

The Space between the
Crown and the Miter, is
fill'd with Nothing but
Smiles, Graces, and En-
dearments: and the Grate-
ful Tydings, which the
Angels of our Churches e-
very Day bring us, are
Peace and Prosperity; If
this transports us into
Songs of Joy and Gladness:
If we bless that Fair, that
Idol's Que, which is like
Mother of us all: If we
Congratulate the Success
of her Charms, and the
Triumphs of her Beauty:
yet let us not imagine our
to other

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other Rivals to be less Pas-
sionate, who are Jealous
over her with a Godly Jeal-
ousy: If they dread the
Ravisher, Let us not lose
our Discretion in Ecstasy:
We can never be too care-
ful of what we ardently
Love: Now is the Accept-
able Time, this is the Day
in which She shall be spoken
for: Whilst we thank the
Good Powers for Making
us Happy, Let us implore
their Aid to make us ever
so: There is Gratitude,
and Acknowledgement in
Wishes like these, for 'tis
Excess of Pleasure that
breeds every the least
a Doubt

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Doubt of its Duration.
The World affords no Nobler Entertainment, than to watch the Growth of a State or Kingdom, how it Flourishes in every Part, and Arms and Reaches at Perfection; Nature, which is the Art of God, has been Lavish and Profuse towards us: *We are a Land flowing with Milk and Honey: In our Gates are all Pleasant Fruits: our Mountains Shout, and our Valleys Laugh and Sing: The Waters are a Wall unto us on our Right Hand, and our Left: The Clouds drop Fatness upon us, and we are*
fed

The Dedication.

fed with the Dew of Heaven: Our Dominion is from Sea to Sea, There go our Ships, we take our Pastime therein, and our Merchants are Princes; Happy are we! Who is like unto us? We are a People Strong and Hardy, A People Mighty in Battle, and the Shout of a King is amongst us: Has God dealt so with any Other Nation, And who is there that have him so near them, as we have; How Great, how Happy are we! Scarce we our Selves can make our Selves Greater, and None but our Selves can make our Selves Less; Is

The Dedication.

it Possible then, we can take too much Care of *that*, to which all these Blessings are owing? Can *that* be ever too Near to Perfection? Let the Power and Beauty of Holiness go Hand in Hand together; How can we ever be Weary of Polishing the Corners of those Temples, which even *Goths* and *Vandals* made so Firm and Durable; Laws and Ordinances are a Nobler Foundation, than what the Rude Hands of *Saxon* Architects lay'd for us; If we keep these and do them, this is our Wisdom and our Understanding

The Dedication.

*derstanding in the Sight of
the Nations, which shall
hear all these Statutes and
say, surely this Great Na-
tion, is a Wise and Under-
standing People.*

MY LORD!

When I survey the *Br-
tish* Constitution, a lasting
stately Venerable Pile,
founded in the united
Wisdom and Strength of
many Ages: Whose Walls
are of Brass, and its Basis
like the Center of the U-
niverse: Where all beneath,
is immoveable, and all a-
bove, is graceful and love-
ly, how amiable are these

a 3 Courts?

The Dedication.

Courts? Even the Shadow of this Fabrick is refreshing to all within its reach; how can we sufficiently bless the Goodness of Heaven, which has thrown *our Lotts into so fair a Heritage!* It is not surprizing to see Providence appear so frequently, and exert the Divine Power in the Support and Deliverance of a State, which for Contrivance and Oeconomy, approaches so very near to the Divine Wisdom; Nor is it wonderful to see our Adversaries, after being tired with the vain Attempt of Battering those Walls, that

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that enclose us, and undermining that Rock upon which we are founded, now retire to the Plains and Deserts, there build their *Babel*, and erect New Models on the Numberless Sands, and in the Wildernesses of Nature, and then bring their Imaginary Schemes to match with Written Law and Venerable Custom, and with a Constitution that has stood unmov'd amidst the Down-fal of other States and Empires, and often made *Europe* Happy with the Communications of its Power and Glory; Our

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Monarchy, which is the
Noblest Barrier against
Confusion and Disorder,
which has all the Terrors
that are necessary to make
it dreaded abroad, and all
the Mildness that is requi-
site to establish Greatness
with Goodness, and to
give Pow'r the Noblest Se-
curity of the Heart and
Affections, these daring
Adventurers have sunk and
debas'd, into the low ab-
ject Notion of a Tempo-
rary Consulship, and stript
it of all those Rights,
which either God or the
Law have made Sacred,
Inherent, and Hereditary;
-OM 4 5 Our

The Dedication.

Our Parliaments, which
are the firmest Barrier a-
gainst unlimited Power,
and the best Prop to the
Throne, which stands sup-
ported in *the Multitude of*
such Councillors infinitely
preferable to those Mini-
ons and Flatterers, which
either the Lust or Folly of
Tyrants make choice of,
and to whom they enslave
themselves as well as their
People, These Ravagers
have basely deliver'd up to
vain Dreams and imaginary
Projects of lawless Nature,
have seiz'd on Charters,
disfranchiz'd Cities, and re-
solv'd not only the whole
Power

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Power of Dissolution, but even the Revocation of the Form it self: into the giddy momentary Humour of the loose unqualify'd Multitude: Our Church which is the best Barrier against Popery, they have robb'd of all its Hallow'd Ornaments, taken away all its Human and External Beauty, and all its Divine Substance and Energy: Remov'd the Ancient religious Landmark, and even every Distinction of Sacred and Profane; Our Liberties and Properties, which are founded not only in that Power which we retain, but in

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in that too, which enables our Governors to save and protect us, they have thrown into a common Scramble: subjected them to the wild Uncertainties of Anarchy and Confusion, where Force and Stratagem are far more Absolute than the severest Tyrants, and where we can have no Right, because there is neither Order nor Justice; Our whole Constitution, so nicely pois'd between too much Power and too much Liberty, they have warpt and distorted into the meanest and most dangerous Extream, and settled all our Hap-

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Happiness upon the unstable Foundation of Present Humour and Convenience, which effectually cuts off all Care of Posterity, all future Provisional Laws, and that Succession, which alone can buoy us up under the dismal Apprehensions of the Crown's Demise: So highly are we oblig'd to wish that our QUEEN may be less Great, that we may be more Happy, and that She would long, very long, be contented with a temporal Crown, instead of one that is Eternal! The Revolution, ever Memorable and Glorious! A
Trans-

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Transaction, Rich in a
Thousand Consequential
Blessings, that sav'd *Great
Britain*, and made all *Eu-
rope* happy, begun by the
best Human Wisdom, and
seconded by the Divine, a
Deliverance, that gave us
Two such Monarchs, and
to which even Monarchy
it self, Law, and Liberty,
and the Protestant Reli-
gion are intirely owing,
these wretched Pretenders
to Right, have defam'd
and vilify'd, by odious Pa-
rallels with strange Phan-
tastick States of Lawless
Nature, and compar'd it to
the worst Instances of the
Blackest

The Dedication.

Blackest and, most Infamous Rebellion, Arbitrary Humour, and Private Uncontrolable Judgment, when strain'd to that Latitude, which these Men apparently aim at, are indeed compleat Levellers: The Bible and Statute-Book are but weak Objections to their over-ruling uncontrollable Power; Liberty in Excess soon crosses over to the other Extream, and insensibly works out its own Destruction; Unity is the Effence and Soul of a State, and Confusion its Mortality; We must not only contend for the Parts and

Blackest

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Or-

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Ornaments of this fair Edifice, but for its Posture and Situation: to Place a Pyramid with its Point downward, makes Falling absolutely necessary: but then is the Position safe and regular, when the Pile rises from a wide immovable Base to a narrow Point, and *that* reaches to Heaven.

That truly Sacred and *Apostolical Order*, with which YOUR LORDSHIP is so justly dignify'd, *the Author of the Rights* has intirely plunder'd of all its Honours, Divine and Human, and cast it as a Prey to the giddy Licentious Multitude;

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tude : where is the Deficiency, and why sleeps the Vengeance of the Law ? or can it be more criminal to scandalise a single Prelate, than to insult the whole Body at once ? How false, how stale, how senseless, is that wretched Objection of a Popish Episcopacy ! When will Faction and Heresy have done bringing in Popery, and when will they cease to object it to that very Order ; which always strove to keep it out ? Our Episcopacy is *Popish*, and so are our Senses : Tyranny debas'd the one, and Transubstantiation

The Dedication.

tiation the other: But can
no one distinguish between
the Donation of *Phocas*,
and that of *St. Peter*?
There is no Irony in an
English Clement or *Inno-*
cent: The Miter, thus re-
form'd, passes by the Tri-
ple Crown with Indignati-
on, and rises to a higher
and nobler Origin, the
Cyprianick and *Apostolical*
Age; When we have a
Bench of Bishops truly
Primitive, why is there
not a People equally Zea-
lous and Devout? Where
is it, and in what Nation,
that such venerable Rulers
of the Church are mar-
tyr'd

The Dedication.

tyr'd with Infamy and Re-
proach? How much more
kind and equitable would
it be, to transcribe those
great Names from the Re-
cords of State into a Ca-
lendar or Martyrology,
than into a Pamphlet or
Libel? Nor is it only our
own Prelates, but Episco-
pacy it self, and all mitred
Heads of the first and pu-
rest Ages of Christianity,
that are struck at in this
Paper Persecution; the
Massacres of those Days
are reviv'd and acted over
again, and that Tyranny,
by which they fell, is
barbarously charg'd upon
their

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their Names and Memories; Surely Death is abroad in Human Shape, come to level Crowns and Miters, Scepters and Crofiers, before their Time, and Impartially to take away all Distinction between the Evil and the Good, the Wise and the Foolish; Perfect Anarchy, is indeed a Scheme more than Diabolical, for Hell itself is a *Principality*; Without Subordination, the Intellectual World is a *Chaos*, as well as the Visible; Disorder is the reverse of Providence: and if Religion depends on Election,

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he may well chuse *Chance* for his Deity, who is for an Universe of Confusion.

It was but Natural for those, who appear'd publicly in Defence of Vice, to be equally lavish in their Praises of Ignorance, and what they commend so much in others, they themselves do well to follow and imitate; the *Book of Rights* is full of the Theory, and full of the Practice; 'Tis usual with him to match Religion, Stupidity, and Superstition together; Upon this Principle he founds the *Jewish Law*, and the first and best Ages

The Dedication.

Ages of the Church are charg'd with the Glorious Infamy of Bigotry and Sottishness; to this he imputes in a great Measure, the *English* Reformation, and then levels the Firebrand at the two bright Eyes and Luminaries of our Nation, the *Universities*: For were these once extinguish'd, we should soon arrive at his celebrated State of utter Darknes, of *thick Darknes that might be felt*: and when all Colours are alike, and all Distinction abolish'd, then and only then, may we hope for the Success of his own Innumera-

The Dedication.

ble Absurdities; But, MY LORD! Whilst these sacred Seats of Knowledge and Piety, more renown'd than *Thebes* and *Athens*, and I hope much more durable, can boast a Race of Prelates, like YOUR LORDSHIP, and a full Emanation of Inferior Lights, happy in a lesser Degree of the same Glory and Brightness, it will be impossible for Vice and Folly to rase these venerable Structures, which the Religion of Former Ages so carefully began, and the Wisdom of succeeding Times so well establish'd; who shall presume
to

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to violate what even the
Outrages of the maddest
Age thought Sacred and
Holy? And God be
thanked the Desolation
was not Universal as the
Corruption; The best and
noblest, even Royal Blood,
has not been thought un-
worthy these Nurseries,
which Glory in producing
the *First Great Conqueror*
of *France*, and those other
Heroes, who triumph'd
o'er the Powers of *Rome*,
with the same Success and
Bravery; Let the Senate,
the Tribunal, and the
Pulpit witness, if there be
yet any Decay! Why then

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shall the Faults of a Few,
why shall Strangers, or
those that are sent to spy
out our Nakedness, bring an
evil report upon the Land?
Or those undistinguishing
Wretches, who chuse only
the Follies of a Place, dare
to question its Perfections?
Let these proclaim, that
Scandal which they give:
But surely we are fruitful
enough of Arts and Sci-
ences, not to need any Fo-
reign Importation; It is a
Reflection upon our Na-
tive Soil, to transplant our
selves for Improvement;
These far-fetch'd Toys and
Trifles in Learning, like
the

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the Modes and Fashions,
will make our Understanding
as ridiculous as our
Habit; It was the Glory of
the *Romans*, to teach the
Nations they conquer'd;
Our Forefathers travell'd
to make their own Native
Country more Great and
Lovely by Comparifon:
But what's a Vifit to long
Refidence and continu'd
Education? This is a vo-
luntary Banifhment: and
how monftrous is it for
Britains to ftand in need
of a *Naturalization*? A
fine Gentleman exported,
is indeed a National Re-
prefentative: he fpreads
our

The Dedication.

our Glory, and does a Country Justice: But to exchange a generous *British* Breeding for any thing beyond Sea, is the worst sort of Merchandize and Traffick; Why do we call our Religion and Government the best, if we may chuse our Principles somewhere else? and how preposterous is it for Foreign *Britains* to come over like Invaders, and step immediately into Business and Converse, e'er the *English* Divine has purg'd out, what the Crafty *Jesuite* or Wrangling *Socinian* had too artfully instill'd, or e'er
in

The Dedication.

in a Civil Sense they have
duly perform'd their *Qua-*
rentine? We are not self-
ish enough with regard to
the Publick, and neglect
our selves, whilst others
admire us; Foreign Cu-
stoms, like Monsters, please
us, because they are un-
common, though never so
irregular; Let those be fa-
vour'd with Banishment,
who think their own Coun-
try Savage and Barbarous;
I cannot contemplate the
Glories of our Religion
and Government, without
believing as I do of our
Beauties, that if a perfect
Church or State were to
be

The Dedication.

be erected, the *English* Features and Complexion would be the better Part of the Composition; They who have sav'd *Europe*, are fit to polish and adorn it; and if our Vanity does not exceed our Perfections, which it seldom does, *Great Britain* deserves to be, the *Academy of the Universe*.

That Toleration, which a Good and Gracious Government has been pleas'd to give to the *truly* Tender and Conscientious, that they might be convinc'd with leisure, and Unite upon a full Persuasion of their own Happiness, this common

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mon Enemy of both Parties has endeavour'd to Burlesque and Vilifie, by removing the Publick Fence, and throwing open the Bounds and Limits of our Indulgence, and letting in the whole Herd and Spawn of Ranters and Enthusiasts among those, that call themselves the honest Dissenters, and from whom certainly 'tis much more for their Honour and Interest to separate, than from the *Church of England*; Where private Fancy in its utmost extent is to determine, *Mahometism* itself is not excluded: and
even

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even *Popery*, if it will part with all its Civil Encroachments, may bring all its Religious Corruptions, and be welcome; Can it be suppos'd that amidst this Huddle and Confusion, Morality will be preserv'd inviolate? Latitude in Opinion, naturally produces Looseness in Practice; Humour and Interest will change with the Day, and Wrong and Right become purely Fortuitous and Accidental; Variety in Religion, will be made fashionable: For what is Scripture, where Explanations are to go by choice, and
Times

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Times and Circumstances are to direct the Comment? These Oracles must cease, and the old ones revive again, when Ambiguity was the only Divine Attribute; No wonder, if in a State like this, so nearly approaching to *Paganism* and Infidelity, the Powers below claim the same Worship with those above, and every Vice has its God, as well as every Vertue.

Free-thinking and Free-acting are the necessary Consequences of one another, and to judge without rule, is all one as to live without rule; 'Tis an
Im-

The Dedication.

Imposition upon Heaven,
when Men will not let the
Almighty, who is the God
of Nature, direct and go-
vern his own Workman-
ship; How pall'd and nau-
seous are our Appetites,
when we only love her for
her Debaucheries? And the
Design of the Almighty is
to restore her to her first
Beauty, and Innocence;
The *Chaos* was not more
monstrous and ununiform
than the intellectual World
was, till Revelation dawn'd
upon Mankind; And who
but an Allie of the Powers
of darkness, would throw
all things back again into
the

The Dedication.

the thick Shades of that gloomy Interval? How much worse is loose irregular Reason, than brutal Instinct? The first produces a Thousand Vicious Acts for One that's Vertuous and Noble: But the other brings forth whole Herds and Flocks of Useful and Harmless Animals, for one Monster, one Savage Brute, that delights in Blood and Rapine; The reveal'd Reason of God is indeed a Restraint and Check upon Man: so is Order upon all the Works of the Creation: The Motions of the
c Sun

The Dedication.

Sun and Earth, the Courses
and the stated Returns of
Times and Seasons, are Re-
straints upon all the Lovely
Beings that are round us:
But are they not necessary
for the Glory of the Crea-
tor, and for the Happiness
of his Creatures? and are
not the Rules he has given
us, equally for our Good
and our Perfection? To what
are we restrain'd, but to
the Dignity of our Nature,
and the Beauty of our Or-
der? Free-thinking belongs
not even to the Godhead,
and certainly the Restraints
of a Divine Being, are the
Per-

The Dedication.

Perfection of a Human;
If we give up Forms and
Order, the Visible and In-
tellectual World must both
sink together, and the At-
heist will hardly survive,
to contemplate his adgnid
System of Atoms and Dis-
order.

When we should be re-
counting our Triumphs
and Victories, and prepar-
ing for all the Blessings of
Peace and Plenty, Why do
we walk sullenly byt one
another? Why are we as
fraid of our Selves, when
Nothing else could dismay
us? Can we not join as

The Dedication.

cheerfully to share our Joys,
as we did our Dangers?
Must we be Slaves to our
Passions, when no other
Power could subdue us?
and shall Parties reign and
ravage when Troops and
Squadrons are no more?
from the Rescuing of Na-
tions, the Taming of Mon-
sters, and Supporting the
Pillars of *Europe*, we are
almost arriv'd to Ease and
Glory: We have thrown
our Trophies at the Feet of
our *Great Mistress*, can
lean on our *Club*, and wrap
the *Lion's Skin* close about
us: But the *Envenom'd*
Shirt,

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Skirt, the cleaving Mis-
chief, sticks much closer:
and where can our Fury
find a more deserving Ob-
ject, or burst more justly,
than on the Heads of those
Incendiaries, who scatter'd
the Flame, and spread the
Poyson to prey upon that
Noble Vigor, and those
Vitals, that wrought so
many amazing Wonders.
Though our Strength were
like that of the Great
Mountains, though Rocks
and Hills and all the Foun-
dations of the Earth were
the Basis of an Empire,
yet if lurking Trains of

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Sulphur mingle in the
Composition, and spread
and branch into one ano-
ther, Shocks and Earth-
quakes will be frequent;
and Cities and Tem-
ples, the Work of many
Ages, in a Moment tumble
into Ruin; Can those Men
be for Peace, who would
make Party a Principle?
and are for moulding Di-
visions into the very Form
and Constitution of a State?
Who imagine, that we
shall be Slaves, whenever
our Governours cease to be
divided, and would make
all those Differences con-
tribute

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tribute to our Happiness, which Tyrants have so often and so successfully employ'd to undoe us? This renders an Eternal Civil War necessary, sanctifies Confusion, and makes Calamity a Blessing; Such Nonsense, may be Divinity by the very same Rule; How regularly do such Men rave and talk Inconsistency by Method! If such *Tongues as these are set on Fire of Hell*, where was the Heart set on Fire, that dictated such Madness? A compleat Collection of such combustible

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Matter, upon a Day of
Thanksgiving, would be a
Noble Sacrifice worthy the
highest Festival; Let him
who made the Proposal, try
the Experiment: There is
Fire in the *Bull*, but it neither
bellows nor appears lively,
unless animated with the
wretched Artificer; When
will our Heats be allay'd,
whilst these Men daily heap
on fresh Fewel? They are
at War with Peace it self;
there can be no Moderati-
on in such Fiery Tempers:
The Gridiron will be al-
ways supply'd with Goals,
and they will turn t'other
side,

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side, when one is consumed;
How Inhuman is it to scatter
Firebrands among those,
who will stand the Flames?
but for those, who had ra-
ther be Incendiaries than
Martyrs: and who can plead
the Divine Right of *Chang-*
ing: how Gentle is Rigor,
and how Merciful Punish-
ment? Is it possible we
should ever deny the Chri-
stian Favour of a little Re-
straint to those, who are so
well dispos'd for a Refor-
mation?

From Harsh and Un-
pleasing Prospects, I turn
my self to a Scene more
Lovely and Entertaining;
And

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And here, there is no Necessity of Complementing YOUR LORDSHIP, and that High and Holy Order, of which YOUR LORDSHIP is so shining an Ornament, with secret and conceal'd Vertues: The frequent Eruptions of Faction and Heresy, and the Insults of Vice and Profaneness, do every Day provoke the Episcopal Attributes, to appear and exert themselves with the utmost Vigor: And the great Design of Curing all these Evils, is so much the more glorious in the present Fathers

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thers of the Church, be-
cause you are to reform us
without a Miracle.

Honour, Wealth, Pow-
er, Courage, and Vertue;
with all those Noble En-
dowments, that make the
truly Great and Good,
which from a Long Long
Race of accomplish'd An-
cestors, so profusely de-
scend to YOUR LORDSHIP,
who alone are able to im-
prove them, YOUR LORD-
SHIP has happily hallow'd
and sanctify'd, and cover'd
them with a Sacred Venera-
ble Character, that takes
and returns an equal Pro-
portion

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portion of Lustre; Without these Advantages, YOUR LORDSHIP's single Merit is even at this time a Demand upon the Publick: No wonder then, it dazle's us with so bright an Addition; Would to Heaven! YOUR LORDSHIP's example were as often follow'd, as it is Universally admir'd: The Heroes of the Church, would then soon equal those of the State, and the Crown be as well supported and adorn'd by the *Miter* on one side, as by the *Coronet* on the other; Happy
you,

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you, MY LORD ! who join
all the Modern Accom-
plishments to the Primitive,
and who are as Great by
Birth, as the first Christi-
ans made their Bishops by
Devotion ; YOUR LORD-
SHIP'S dedicating so many
Noble Endowments and
Blessings to the Service of
the Sanctuary, is an Offer-
ing that surpasses the Zeal
of Antiquity : Herds and
Hecatombs are less accept-
able, and YOUR LORDSHIP
shines as bright in Lawn,
as your brave Ancestors
ever did, in Mail and Ar-
mour.

Remote

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Remote and Obscure as
I am, and plac'd at that
vast, but due Distance,
from YOUR LORDSHIP, I
can only repeat to you, the
united Acknowledgments
of Mankind; Fame, never
more just and Impartial,
prevents the quickest and
most luxurious Invention,
and we are compell'd to
fall in with common Con-
sent, and the Applauses of
all Men; the Meanest and
most retir'd can enjoy no
greater Happyness, than to
see the Deserving rewarded:
When good Wishes, and
great Merits are crown'd
with

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with Success, the Joy grows
Publick and Diffusive:
This gives Harmony to a
State, confirms our Con-
tentment, makes our Obe-
dience Chearful, and Un-
forc'd; the Hero was al-
ways greater than the Hi-
storian: If the Ancient
Writers of the Church
were so highly valu'd, and
rever'd, what then were
those Holy Bishops and
Fathers, who were the Sub-
ject of their Labours?
YOUR LORDSHIP shows the
Christian and the *Britain*
more lively and exact, in
the Original Beauties of
Action

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Action and Example, than
in the Dead Faint Transcript
of a thousand Volumes;
Surely, it must be less No-
ble to Write than to Live!
'Tis YOUR LORDSHIP'S
Glory to practise more Ver-
tues, than many Books can
dictate and describe; The
Life of a great Man always
precedes his *Works*, and is
prefer'd before them; How
much is the World indebt-
ed to YOUR LORDSHIP,
who makes Example rise in
Proportion to Precept?
How much greater is it to
give the Theme, than to
explain it? How much
Nobler

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Nobler to adorn a Church,
than to encrease a Library?

To read, and to under-
stand the best and great-
est Men, is a useful, and
noble Entertainment; the
Contemplation of a Vertu-
tuous and exalted Chara-
cter, surpasses the long la-
borious Search of Arts,
and all the tedious Intrica-
cies of Wrangle and Con-
troversy; *This* is the De-
scription, but *That* the
Life: *There* Vertue ap-
pears painted and in dis-
guise, *Here* she is all Na-
ture and in high Beauty,
holding out the Golden
d Prize

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Prize to all her admirers:
~~There~~ we perfue her to her
Retirements, and Recesses,
through long Tracts of Ar-
gument, the Mazes and La-
byrinths of Consequences
and Deduction: ~~Here~~ she
meets our Arms, and
Courts our Embraces; the
golden Age was a Stranger
to the Use of Letters: E'er
~~that~~ Invention had blest
and curst Mankind, Reli-
gion was all practice, she
had then the most nume-
rous and most zealous Vo-
taries, such as the present
Age, with all its Improve-
ments, can only contem-
plate

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plate in the happy Few,
like YOUR LORDSHIP; the
best Life must be the ef-
fect of the highest Know-
ledge; we prefer the Me-
mories of the few Good,
to the Works of the many
Learned: These, only write
Romances of Piety, or if it
be her History, yet to write
it only, is a sure Sign the
Heroine is Dead; how
groundless are our preten-
ces to Art, when what we
propose, we must be oblig'd
to others to demonstrate?
The penning of Rules
and Precepts is a Custom
founded in the suppos'd De-
ficiency

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iciency of Human Nature, even God never speaks, he is all Action, and to be most like him is the noblest Adoration: What is Religion it self, what is the Gospel, but the Life of a Saviour here on Earth?

That Vertue must be great, which has stood the severest Tryals: we are indebted to Providence, that YOUR LORDSHIP is one of the *Living Lights* of the Church, and that you are not rank'd with *Crammer* and *Ridley*; but next to those that *reform'd* us, they ought to be always remembered.

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member'd, who *ſav'd* us
from Ruin; When Popery
came over in the *Armada*,
we no more thought it *In-*
vincible, than the Power
that pronounc'd it ſo, to
be *Infallible*: We escap'd
unhurt from the infernal
Blaſt, and the conſecrated
Dagger: But when it pos-
ſeſs'd that Throne, it once
try'd to undermine, then
'twas truly Formidable:
Yet YOUR LORDSHIP ſtood
this Shock, not alone in-
deed, but if alone, equally
Couragious; *God* and *Ca-*
ſar were never more oppo-
ſite, yet Religion and Loy-
d 3 alty

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alty never more conspicu-
ous; When they that were
nearest to the Altar, were
first doom'd to be sacrific'd,
shall it be ever doubted,
whether that Church, be the
best Fence against Popery,
which was first to be re-
mov'd? Confessors were al-
ways next in Glory to Mar-
tyrs, and well was it for us,
that *such* Men were reserv'd
for *such* Times; What YOUR
LORDSHIP then did and suf-
fer'd, which so Great a King,
and so Good a Queen, so just-
ly rewarded, a grateful Peo-
ple shall always remember,
whilst they are free and hap-
py ;

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py; This shall not be forgotten, when returning Anniversaries renew our Joys, and recite our Deliverances. Or, when in future Times, Posterity shall enquire, how we came by our Religion and Liberties; May Your Glory and our Happiness go Hand in Hand together, and be as inseparable, as Your LORDSHIP'S Order, and the *English Constitution*.

Whilst I labour to reach some of those exalted Heights of generous Praise, which the first and purest Ages pay'd to the Fathers of the Church, I am not insen-

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sensible, that they who possess every Vertue, are obliged to take that one in to the Number, which would conceal all the rest. YOUR LORDSHIP hears these things with Pain though you practise them with Pleasure. It is not for YOUR LORDSHIP'S sake, we say them, but for our own. Honour is a Duty we owe to those above us, in Vertue and Power, and as it is some degree of Sacrilege to misplace, so tis a high breach of Justice to lessen and Diminish it; We are bid to look up to the Sun
-ment when

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when it shineth, and to the
Moon walking in Bright-
ness, but the Glory of these
Inanimate Beings is ascrib'd
only to Heav'n, whilst there
is a secondary Praise due to
Good Men; and to those
Burning and Shining Lights
here on Earth, that warm
us with their Beams, and
guide us with their Bright-
ness. **THAT YOUR LORD-**
SHIP may long enjoy and
adorn the Mitre you possess,
and be ever happy in a
Race, fit to succeed their
renown'd Ancestors, in all
the High and Necessary
Branches of a Wise and
Faith-

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Faithful Administration,
no Man Wishes and prays
with more Ardor and Sin-
cerity, than

MY LORD!

Your Lordship's

Most intirely Devoted

Humble Servant,

WTH T^O M^Y LORD

THE

PREFACE.

ALL Midwives, both Male and Female, agree, that the Upper Part of Man is more prolifick than his Lower, and that an Author consequently must be more blessed in his Generation than a Parent; For Paper Progeny is so very numerous, that if the several Parishes wherein all Foundlings of this sort are commonly laid, were not sufficiently discharg'd from their Maintenance, I question which would be tax'd hardest, Great Britain or Little; New Gaping and Staring being the Modern Marks of Admiration, That Child is certainly most Dutiful and Beneficial to its Parents, that is the farthest from being Handsome: and if it Chance to be Born with Brow Antlers, half a Dozen Leggs, and as many Ears, with a proportionable Discount upon Nature in the want of Eyes and

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and Elbows : Such a one cannot fail of Preferment, if it be only provided with a Travelling Vehicle, and Lodgings in Smithfield ; And by the same Rule, Care must be taken, that the Product of the Brain be equally monstrous and deform'd : and then certainly, he that shall blow a Trumpet, beat a Drum, disseminate Bills, or make a Speech at the Market-Cross, tho' he does utter here and there a few Hyperboles and set forth the unheard of Wonders and amazing Prodigies of the Entertainment, will by no means be thought to discredit the Show, and may rather justly be suspected to be in its Ray and Interest ; For this Reason, I hope the worthy Author who has manifestly perswaded this System and Hypothesis, will be far from thinking me his Enemy, because I have so zealously promoted the Credit of his Monsters and Prodigies ; What I chiefly fear is, that the wicked World will perhaps suspect me to be his Orator and Prolocutor.

When a bold Fellow stands forth that has a peculiar Genius for Iniquity, he loses his Ends, if he be not taken notice of : He is disgusted to be left out of the Observation of Mankind, and rather than want an Historian, will write his own Life ;

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Life; Least therefore the Author of the Rights should be touch'd with the same Envy, which Alexander express'd towards Achilles, Care is taken to make the Grecians merry with the Recital of his Gambols; The Feat with the Two Independent Points, is admirable: That with the Bible and Sheers very good, and the topsy turvy Trick no less rare and amazing; But his Utterance infinitely exceeds his Agitations: and his Mimickry, like Mr. Clinch's of Barnet, is always exact till it comes to the Imitation of good Musick; He seems to have as little to do with Truth as with Peace: and 'tis an Imposition upon his Readers, when he blunders and deviates into the Right; One has an Opportunity of being very Wise by opposing him almost in every thing: and the World being altogether given to that Humour, I resolv'd as a weak Brother to Chime in, being very sure I should never have such another Bargain of Contradictions: For 'twould really make an Ass speak, when such poultry Prophets are hir'd to curse Israel.

I am not so unreasonable as to expect the Smiles of those Men, who have happily attain'd to the Perfection of all solemn Arts and Airs, and are thoroughly accomplish'd in all manner of Wrinckles, both Natural and Arti-

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Artificial; If they hate me but something of the ordinary Quota of their Frowns, I am happy: and if this be the best of my Usage and Condition, what must the Author of the Rights expect? The keeping of the Countenance is very chargeable upon these Occasions, but all Mankind that are truly serious, must certainly think, I had been in Jest, if I had only answer'd him in Earnest.

Some Men are resolv'd to knit their Brows, because I have shewn my Teeth: and are ready to be out of Humour, because I have kept mine; If the Author of the Rights may safely laugh at Church and State, I am resolv'd to laugh at him, till I can find some body that will turn his Joy into Mourning; I know what a serious Subject deserves: but the Rights is my Subject, and that I take it is far from being serious; He has advanc'd Wit against Reason, and Ridicule against Truth; 'Tis among the Scoffers that he takes and is applauded: and shall he break a Jest, and no body laugh at it but himself? Whom should I pretend to convert by being serious, not the serious for they don't believe him: and for the Whimsical and Humoursome, if they can't find a Moral to my Fables, let 'em never pretend to a Jest again. If any Body

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dy has a mind to call me Fool; I'll spare 'um
a Periphrasis, and tell 'um frankly that I
am one: but 'tis for their sakes, and my
Folly shall cease, so soon as I find they
begin to be Wiser. A very Ingenious
Enthusiast has undertaken to resolve all
Religion into good Humour: He would
have Christianity stand the Test of Ridi-
cule, and seems to insinuate, that if the
Primitive Christians had been dress'd up
in Fools Caps and Merry Andrews Jack-
ets, Christianity would not have succeed-
ed so well as it has done; Now I must frank-
ly own, I think Irreligion deserves no bet-
ter Treatment than the Gospel: and there-
fore I have try'd whether that would stand
the Test of Ridicule any better. Can
any one blame me, for taking off the Fool's
Cap from those Venerable Heads, where
they have plac'd it, and removing it to its
proper Cocks-comb? They that have been
jested out of their Senses, may probably
return to 'um again the same way they
went: and they that are Whole and
Sound, are not, that I know of, concern'd
in the Controversy; What do they take
me for? Can I boast such Plenty of Ar-
guments, such an abundance of Sense and
Reason, that I must lavish and Squander
'um away upon those that deal in no such

See the
Letter of
Enthusi-
asm.

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Commodities? Tho' I lose the Benefit of one part of the Dilemma, and by answering a Fool according to his Folly, am made like unto him: Yet I may claim the Benefit of the other part, when I say, I did it least he should be Wise in his own Conceit; And why must I alone insist on Rep. when half the World crys out,

^b Eccles. 6. ^b What hath the Wise more than the Fool? but I took the surest way to oblige my Adversary, for ^c Folly is Joy to him, that is destitute of Understanding.

^c Prov. 15. 21.

The Physicians of Bedlam, have of late been very much against Bleeding, Purg- ing, and other violent Methods: and they have found by Experience, that the Hu- mouring of their Patients proves to be the most expeditious and effectual way for their Recovery; The like Course of Physick may perhaps meet with the same Success, a- mong the Superstitious and Fanatical; I knew a Famous Casuist, who whenever he undertook the Conversion of any of his Precise Neighbours, most commonly made use of the following Address —

*H——a——h Frei——nd Thou art in Darknes, yea in thick Darknes——
The L——rd —— He —— I say
He —— He shall enlighten thee:
Hearken unto him: Hear him: At-
tend*

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tend to him : Advise with him : Talk
 with him : ^d Listen to him : Call for ^d Raising
 him : Knock for him : Enquire for him the Voice.
 ——— ^e Po—or Saw—l! He shall En- ^e Here pull
 lighten thee : He shall Kindle thee : He out the
 shall Inflamm thee : He shall Consume Handker-
 thee ——— ^f Yea ev'n He ——— Heigh—ho ^f This

——— and by this well-tun'd Exordium, through
 be charm'd all the Brethren most Melodi- the Nose.
 ously, and rivall'd all the Noses and Night
 Caps in the Neighbourhood ——— There
 is an Old Lady now living in the Minories,
 who owes her Return into the Right way
 intirely to the following most Divine Piece
 of Harmony.



I wish I could oblige my Reader with the
 Words, but they really never came to my
 Hands ; Now, if in Imitation of such
 great Examples, I have condescended a
 little to the poor Souls I have to deal
 with, why should any Body blame me ? I
 am sure that worthy Divine who is pleas'd
 to dissent from me, will upon Recollection
 think I have taken a right Method, and

e

not

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not Censure me for humouring my childish
Play-fellows in the Imitation only of their
Style and Expressions, when himself im-
agin'd to bring over those Schismatics he
disputes with, by granting them almost all
they say, and leaving 'em in a great mea-
sure to their own Inventians.

The Author of the Rights would
doubtless have been a Great Man by this
Time, if the many Designs that were on
foot in order to make him Famous to Po-
starity, had been carry'd on as manfully
as they were begun and projected; But in
order to obviate the Evil Intentions of all
such Malignants, I do strictly charge and
require all my good Neighbours most faith-
fully to conceal and keep close the said
Author, and if ever they hear of his Name
not to mention it again, upon any Account
whatsoever, unless duly required thereto
by Authority; and if at any time he shall
think fit to proclaim himself publickly,
and to assert his Right to the Book, I
would by no means have him believ'd:
For both the Civil and Religious Part of
the Book (if it may be lawful to use that
Expression) shall be Reprinted with Re-
ferences; wherein the several Paragraphs
and Pages shall be honestly restor'd to the
right Owners: and each Author's Mark set

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to his proper Goods; I was once in the mind of having the whole Collection burnt, and the Compiler himself sing'd a little or so: and I shall find it difficult to retract my Mistake: though I am credibly inform'd, that he catch'd at the Complement, and was thereupon about to declare himself publicly; Furthermore, I do positively forbid all Persons concern'd, to give him any of those Appellations and Titles, which have been so often appropriated to Hobbs and Spinoza, and to other Men of Parts, that were undoubtedly Originals in their way; Neither will I have his Works quoted in any Sermon, Lecture, or other serious Discourse: nor mention'd or taken notice of by any Person, or Number of Persons, professing Divinity: unless it be to encourage Punning, or doer a Tankard of Ale or so; What is past I am inclin'd to over-look, but for the future, let every Body take care, how they offend in any of the Premises, under the Pain and Peril of being declar'd incapable to discern a Jest, when they hear it. But above all, I do denounce the worst of Threats to those Persons, who shall take the Name of the Author or his Works, and affix it to some Party or Faction: Whoever presumes to offend in this kind,

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shall

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shall be doom'd to the severe and intolerable Penance, of turning over the Book till he finds something in't that is New, or that is not Ridiculous.

Among all our Marks of Degeneracy, nothing is a greater Sign of the Increase of Impudence and Presumption: than when every little troublesome Pretender to Contradiction, shall imagine himself qualify'd to give an Occasion for Reasons and Arguments: and to have the Honour of being converted, without first entertaining that gentle and courteous Disposition, for which the Siamite and Bantamite are so justly valu'd by all Well-bred and Civiliz'd Nations; Those Great Masters of Controversy that yet up heretofore for the Propagation of Truth, always reserv'd this better sort of Tempers for the Tryal of their own Skill and Power of Persuasion: and at the same time kept their several Deputies, and subordinate Managers of the under Controversies, and lesser Disputes; The wisest of Men Solomon had several of this sort: such as the Ant, the Fly, the Eagle, the Rabbit, the Goat: and sometimes, the Whip, the Bridle, the Stocks, the Pestle and Mortar: to all which he sends the several Inferior sorts of Fools, who troubl'd him with Objections;

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ons ; Aſop ſcarce ever gave Judgment, but in a Parliament of Birds, Beaſts, Trees or Fiſhes : and for my own part, if ever I am troubl'd with another Atheiſtical Wrangler : I'll ſend away immediately to Dr. Liſ——r, for a few Oysterſhells, which ſhall be forthwith Printed and Publiſhed to his Confuſion ; As for Deiſts, and Socinians : I have a Pair of Spectacles coming over from a Reverend Dutch Commentator, which will infallibly do their Buſineſs ; at the very ſame Time my very Worſhipful Friend Mr. Tho. Dur——y, ſo juſtly celebrated for his Comical Conſutation of the Prophets, according to the Hint given him in the Letter of Enthuſiaſm, is preparing a New Dance repreſenting the State of Nature : He has Twelve Scenes with Eighteen Plots in 'um, every Act concluding with an Invaſion : the whole is richly embeliſh'd with Two Hundred Double Entendres, beſides Pox and Plague ; deſign'd for the Entertainment of the Ladies, as alſo for the Utter Overthrow of all our Enemies both in Church and State.

The Leſt Things in the World are by No Means to be neglected : For my own Part I am very Curious and Attentive to ſuch things as, perhaps others leſs In-

e 3 quiſitive

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quisitive would pass over without regard;
If in Crossing the way by Temple-Bar, it
be my Fortune to hear up with a Jolly
Bona Roba, that rounds me in the Ear
—Here is Hiccius Docius, Or,—
Whilst another in a Treble Voice interrupts
her, with —An Answer to the several
—and then a Third more Hoarse puts
in with —A Letter to Sir Gregory,—
and so forth — Upon the Hearing of all
this, I consider with my self, that the Per-
son who accosts me, is of the Tender Sex,
of a Mean Education, Simple and Illite-
rate, and so not Like to Impose upon me;
and that she appears to be in Earnest by
her Zeal and Utterance, and does not pro-
pose to her self any great Matter of Gain
in the Business: and thereupon I pay
down the Price, sometimes a Half-penny,
sometimes more, but I never exceed a Groat,
and having purchas'd the invaluable Author,
I do not presently after the first Perusal,
dispose of him upon any Occasion, though
never so Necessary: Neither do I give
him to the Wenches to build Pyes upon,
that might more properly serve for the
Foundation of a Common-wealth: Nor yet
do I light Pipes with him, that might more
justly be employ'd to Inflame a whole King-
dom: But I carefully lay up this and all
other

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other Daily and Diminutive Annals, not at all Envyng those Jolly Rogues that wear Calves Leather, and Loll all Day round Paul's in the Sunshine: For in the Course of a few Revolving Years, when my Collection is got to its due Growth and Bulk, some Honest Friend of mine, that jumps in the same Judgment, Epitomizes my whole Study, gives it a New Dress, Refines the Language, and reduces the Growing Mass to the fashionable Shape of an Octavo: and then to the Surprise of all the great Dealers in dusty Folio's and neglected Atlases, out comes the Comprehension of Pamphlets, intituled, The Second Part of the Rights of the Christian Church.

I know very well, that the Beginning of Strife is as when one letteth out Water, and that the Kingdom of Darkness as well as that of Light, will rise from a very Minute and Trivial Origin, to a Prodigious Growth, and in time cover the whole Earth; The New Distinction between Baptist and Anabaptist, in all probability, took its Rise from a Late Account of Cold Baths; And who knows but Plato's Notion of an Harmonious Number, out of which he makes all Immaterial Beings, if duly improv'd by Mr. Lock's Notion of his Deity, which he wholly resolves into an

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Infinite Number, may in time Engender a New Sect of Arithmetical Atheists; I do therefore think it adviseable, to stifle and crush all Seeds and Beginnings of a Party: and whenever the Book of Rights shall grow into a Party, I do here positively declare, I will as seriously as ever I can, engage and oppose him; The Reader may perhaps be at a Loss to know, what sort of Creature a Party is, and of what Ingredients it is made; It may not therefore be amiss, to give him due Satisfaction herein; The most proper Person to begin a Party, is such a One, as has a great deal of Courage, some Wit, little Sense, and not so much as One Grain of Honesty; The First Thing he is to do, is to make a Noise, and the next to be Whipt for't, Cudgel'd, Beaten, or some such way to get the Character of a Sufferer; and then his Fortune and future Prosperity depend upon the Number of his Followers: and the greater Fools these Followers are, the better: For if they have Sense, they may perhaps have a Little Honesty too, or contend for the Leading-Staff: or it may be squabble about Principles, and so spoil the Project: For the Head and Founder is All in All: The Rest, like Cyphers in a Summ, signify nothing of themselves, but when
Headed

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Headed with a Figure of a Tolerable Size, they presently grow Considerable; Now here arises the main Difficulty: What Number of Followers we shall allow the Author of the Rights, in Order to make a Party and Faction? In the Sense of the Law, Two make a Conspiracy and Three a Riot: But (Party) is a Military Term, and all Persons concern'd in Controversy, are in a State of Warfare; Now I would have the Spirit of our English Writers rise in Proportion to that of our Soldiers: and I cannot allow less than Thirty to a Party of English, because I would be sure to have a Corporal or some such Commander amongst them; And because the Courage of one that Writes in a bad Cause, can never come up to the Courage of one that Fights in a good one, therefore I will double the Number: and to encourage him to come to a Decisive Battle, I will throw him in Forty more, which amounts to the round Summ of a Hundred: I dare not go any farther, for fear of putting the General into utter despair of raising his Complement: and whenever he shall appear in the Field with the said Forces, I do here upon Honour Engage, that I will declare War against him in due form, and proceed forthwith to Hostilities; Always pro-

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provided, that every one that Lists under him, shall be oblig'd to stand to all and singular the Articles of the Cause for which he contends: They shan't, like Honest Mahomet, take here and there a bad Principle, and here and there a good one from some body else, in order to make their Creed intire: Neither shall one pick one Herefy and another an other, and so on: But they shall take the whole, as it lies: else I shall think my self oblig'd to turn 'um over to other Hands: especially, if they happen to fall in with any of the Moderate Hereticks of Old, who were Content with One or Two bad Principles: I shall leave these to Box it out with St. Austin, St. Cyprian, and the rest of the Brave Champions with their Invulnerable Beards, whilst I stand by, give the Combatants a few Indignation Airs, and keep my Temper just as it is; Neither will I suffer any Person to take a stinted Number or Quota of Heresies: Forty or Fifty shall not serve his Turn: but he must have the whole Ten Chapters, Preface, Introduction, and every Paragraph of each: Nay, I'll not so much as bate him the Title-Page and Index, and when he has swallow'd 'um all, then, and not till then, will I allow him to be a Man
of

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of the Rights; I know the Ring-leader has made a Resolution not to Fight without a Majority, which is cowardly enough & conscience: and just at the End of his Book he talks of standing by Himself: but then he pleads only for Inward Satisfaction, which is a Term utterly unknown among Challengers and Heroes; In short let him beat his Drums for Volunteers, and make the best Speech he can: The Mob, though they love to be Drunk, yet had rather have their Guts full of October, than swallow Wind in Bladders, and be drench'd with a whole Skin-full of Enthusiasm; Could this Noble Adventurer Mimick all the Monsters he talks of, no doubt the Stage would be crowded: but so long as I have the least Acquaintance and Correspondence with all the ugly Fellows of Antiquity, and know whence all his Heterodox Postures, all his Schismatical Leggs, and Heretical Wry-Faces are borrow'd: He shall never have the Pretence of Novelty, or the Glory of being an Original, unless he claim it only for being the first, that ever had all the Faults of his Forefathers put together; A Coat of Patch-work may make a Merry Andrew: but he that only invents a Knot or a Flourish, the Cut of a Sleeve, or the Garniture of a Button.

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Button-hole, has a much better Title to Mode and Publick Admirati^on, and is much rather to be valu'd under either Capacity, both as Beau and Taylor.

Many are the Advantages that accrue from Free-Thinking, and from writing out of the way: especially if the Author takes care to avoid falling in with any of the Religions, that are at that time in fashion: For then he must be content to take up with a Hundred and Fifty Doctors of the same Church, and be utterly depriv'd of the Credit and Renown of singularity; The Best Gamesters are Lost in a Crowd: To write by Precedent and Rule may make a Man Eminent that way amongst a great many that are as Eminent as He, and so, it may be, the Catalogue will be Printed without his Name: but something New and Surprising makes a Man Remarkable by Himself, and above the Commendations of a Party: A Meteor of a Day's standing, though made out of the Filth and Rubbish of the Skies, meets with much more Admirati^on than all the fix'd Stars put together: The Sir-name of Great, sounds like it self, though the other Name be, Atheist, Deist, or Sceptick: and they that believe a Name to be the most durable

Button

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able Part of the Man, may very easily renounce their whole Being for that; Indeed, according to some Men's Judgments, a Wit without a Little Spice of Atheism, though 'tis possible he may appear Clean and Neat, yet is not altogether so fashionable; This gives it an aspiring bold Air, and brings it into Publick Notice and Observance; If the sober Part of Mankind do but conspire heartily to persecute such a one, and to mark him out, then he is made for ever: provided he be well fortify'd with Brass to surmount all the Obstacles of his Glory, and is most religiously bent to grow every Day worse and worse; Such a one is Company for the Genteelest Rake upon Earth: He can give a Reason for being Wicked, and put Lewdness into a Demonstration: and those Adventures which among Wits of a Lower Size may possibly deserve a Song or a Copy of Verses, he can handsomely turn into serious Argument and Principle, and perhaps erect an Hypothesis thereupon; Let such a one be the Subject of a Publick Whisper, Let him be call'd, the suppos'd Author of such a Book, or the nameless Inventor of such a Project, when his Pamphlets are talk'd of, as much as another's Bastards, to the Reputation of his

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his Kiger: Then, where is the Old Pitt of a Dail, that shall deny him his Daughter? Or where is that witless Squire or Lord, that shall offer to keep a Brace of Hunters, or a Pack of Fox-doggs in his Head? Where is that Mechanical Ass of a Taylor or Barber, that shall presume to insult him, that has been so often in Print, with Imperinent Quotations out of Manuscripts? And it cannot but be allow'd as a sure Sign of a Savage, Barbarous and Illiterate Country, where upon his first Landing, the Mayor and Aldermen in their Formalities, shall not immediately Congratulate his Arrival, and very eloquently bid him Welcome; Four Sots that depend altogether upon Oral Tradition, are oblig'd to give a Reason for what they say: but what is a Gentleman Author without Authority? When he has said it, though it be never so surprising, People are desir'd to behave themselves a little Modestly, and not to go about to question the Matter, but to rest satisfi'd in the Information, and be thankful that they are thought worthy to be better instructed: There is that Tedious Journey of going to Church, that Unmathematical Notion of Faith, and a great many other Hardships, which ordinary People

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People are expos'd to, How easily might a Man get rid of these Troubles, if he would but write a Letter to Mr. To——, or put out an Octavo call'd —— The Reasonableness of something or another, no matter what; There is also a certain Fear and Reverence belongs to the Persons of these Undertakers: I have known a Coffee-house in an Uproar about the Origin of Government, when upon the Approach of a Puny Pamphleteer, all has been Hush again, and ne'er a Mortal durst Mutter, without an —— Under Favour —— Or —— With Submission —— though he had spoken just before with a Parliament Man; and so have I seen a little Sceptical Observer pop unexpectedly into a Country Church, and the frighted Parson, though before pert as a Pepper-corn, has been Terrify'd from his Text, and rode Post through his Particulars, that he might more merrily sound his Benediction. It is not to be imagin'd, how very sheepish and Forlorn a Tonker of the Law, or Mechanical Prentice will look, when he is surpriz'd by the Watch, or taken Napping in a Bawdy House? How Loath shall a Grave Citizen be to appear in Publick, after a thorough Debauch, though upon a Day of Thanksgiv-
ing?

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ing? but your Gentleman Wit becomes the Stewes, and gives a Grace to the Round-house: He swears with an Air, and breaks Windows. En Chevalier: These things are but the Exercises of his Freedom, the Ordinary Sallies of his Fancy and Luxury of his Constitution; The Wretch that is Wicked without Principle, and gives no other Account of the Matter, but only that he designs to be sorry for't one time or another, is nothing to these Bravos, that are judiciously Lewd, and sin by Rule and Maxim: No wonder they live as fast as ever they can, since they do not design to be Immortal.

The Author of the Rights very wisely takes upon himself the Attribute of Invisibility, which all Bullies that deal much in Challenges and Defiances, ought chiefly to rely upon: Otherwise, like Belshus, they must keep a Military Almanack, and be oblig'd to send their several Antagonists an account of their Turns, and Times of Appearance in the Lists: and by this Method perhaps, the Champion I am now speaking of, may, at a Duel a Day, spend the Year very Handsomely; All this while, I do not reckon him and his Adversaries, Man to Man, but I match him

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him with whole Parties, and Squadrons : For I am very positive, there's no Settle-
whatever, whether good or so so, Toler-
rable or Intolerable, but what he has
attack'd either in Form or Battle, or at
least beat up their Quarters ; For my
own Part, as he is, I do not fear him :
but when he looks out for Confederates,
I begin to be in pain ; In his Tenth
Chapter he makes violent Interest with the
Pope : In his Eighth, he bespeaks the
Turk very Handsomely : and his Intro-
duction gives the Devil a very good ac-
count of the Rise of his Kingdom ; When-
ever therefore I hear that he begins to
treat, and that the Alliance is in good
Forwardness : I shall rouse and look a-
bout me, and shall consider what other
Forces, besides my Regular Troops to em-
ploy against him : It may be I shall per-
suade my Trusty Genevans, to lay down
their Drums, and draw in defence of this
New Cause, which, they know, is as good
as the Old one : Perhaps, I may prevail
on my advanc'd Guards, the Pensylvani-
ans, to begin a Military Agitation, and
give Fire with their Lights : whilst my
Admiral, the Anabaptist, shall Guard the
Seas, and sink all he meets that deny
the Authority of Old Father Ocean ; All
f this

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this while 'tis probable I wrong him: and he had perhaps much rather give an Occasion for a Scuffle, than be concern'd in it himself: For no body has more reason than he, to be of a Moderate Peaceable Temper, since the whole World are his Dissenters.

Whatever has been said in this Dialogue, about Whigg and Tory, was Faithfully collected out of the Memoirs, Traditions, Histories, Annals, and Accounts, of those Two Learned Casuists, who having by this time wrangl'd a great deal longer, than what the Statute usually allows to all other sorts of Disputation and Controversy: I thought it High Time to let these Noble Champions, after the just Commendations due to their Courage and Spirit, and the Indefatigable Pains they have taken, have a Discharge from their Labours, and a sufficient Testimony of their Abilities: which I was the rather inclin'd to do, because I found the Author of the Rights, just as they were out of Breath, most ungenerously preparing to assault both: When at the same time, Law and Testimony waited without, most grievously complaining, that every Body could be heard but they, and very humbly desiring, that they also, in their Turns, might be admitted to Audience.

Per-

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Perhaps no Body has a greater respect for his Aunt or his Grandmother, than I have for Dame Nature: I know, she was Debauch'd very young, but she Marry'd after that, and liv'd honestly for several Tears together; She is a Celebrated Toast, and had ever a World of Admirers: and is, I believe, at this very time, the best Housewife Living; 'Tis true the Husband ought to Rule, but then, I think, her Advice too ought not to be neglected: and therefore, I would have all her Children show a very great Deference and Respect to her Injunctions, notwithstanding the Objections of the Author of the Rights to the Fifth Commandment; If her Parts or her Vigour did decline with her Tears, a good wholesome Restorative would be ever now and then necessary: but since she has an Art of doing that to her Face and Features, which other Ladies can only do to their Cloaths, and is ever Young and Fashionable: there is no fear that her Fire should abate, or her Spirits droop: and 'tis as impossible for her not to Scold and Fight, when there is Occasion, as not to weep or shine, or even follow the Old Trade of Propagation: but for this very reason, to prescribe her certain Terms and Seasons of Scolding and Fighting; whether there

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be an Occasion or no, is very Impertinent and Unreasonable: and besides that Incroachment upon her Liberty, She had much better go off, as Dr. Pope advises, by a gentle Decay, than for her Health's sake, be ever now and then put into a violent Fit of a Fever: 'Tis not good to force her Constitution: Let her go out in a Snuff, rather than in a Blaze; for be that shall dose her ever now and then, with a Dram or a Noggin, when there's no Necessity for either: may in time perhaps bring upon her that Great Cronical Distemper, which every Body dreads, and with which some Physicians have threaten'd her, call'd a General Conflagration.

I wish from my Soul, that the High and Mighty Tyrants in Quarto and Octavo, would seriously consider that excellent and incomparable Maxim, That Honour is in the Giver: and thereupon what a great Weight and Burden lies upon 'um, when they exert their Despotick Power in the Disposal of Patents, Grants, Maces, White Staves, and all other Places and Utensils of Trust and Profit; I speak it with Grief, I have seen such Arbitrary Proceedings of this sort, that I gaze at some Pamphlets, as much as I would at a Bla-

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*Blazing-Star or a Comet: I have known
a Letter to a Friend depose a Prime Mi-
nister, a Political Essay break a General,
and a Postscript or a Weekly Paper sink
half a Dozen Admirals at a Blast: The
Author of the Rights is more Compendi-
ous, and has crowded the Overthrow of
Dukes, Treasurers, Speakers, Deans,
Doctors, and other his Subordinate Powers
all into one Paragraph: With all due
Submission to the most Serene Sovereign
and Lord of the Pasquil, I have endea-
vour'd to represent right humbly, that For-
asmuch as such mighty Potentates of the
Regions of Waste-paper are plac'd at too
remote a Distance, so that all that can
reach 'um is only a Faint Noise and Un-
certain Rumor, therefore they would in
their Wisdom be pleas'd to leave these
Earthly Concerns to the Powers below,
who know the Men, are frequently in their
Company, and can tell what they are
good for: but if these Oppressors go on
as they have done, whatever we may
think on't, Nature will prevail: and I
must declare it Lawful for some of the
Subordinate Powers, to come upon 'um
with the Doctrine of Coercion and Cal-
ling to an Account: and let all such Do-
mineering Dons take Notice, that in these*

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Cases, Vengeance is apt to strike home : as appears very plain from those Celebrated Contentions, between Mr. Dryden and the Duke of Buckingham, the Observator and his Admiral Drubb ; in all which Cases, every Body sees where the Satyr pinches closest, or in common Proverbial Terms, who has the better End of the Staff.

I think it very unjust to hang a Man, only because his Name is Jeffery or Jack : in that Case, if any Body is to suffer, I think it should be the Person who gave him that Name : and therefore I could not but express a very particular Resentment against those Arch Fellows, who sell Bargains to their Neighbours, first give 'um a Nick-name, and then tell 'um 'tis Bawdy, and laugh at 'um ; If every Pamphlet were to be improv'd into a Narrative, legally attested, subscrib'd, and sworn to, we should soon see who and who's together : but when Men build Gibbets with Paper, and usurp the Office of the Hangman, without being lawfully ordain'd to't ; When they expect their Word and Honour should be taken against their Betters, contrary to the Law of Tryals per pares : when they chalk People's Backs, and deface 'um contrary to the Coventry Act, Is it not Charity to desire such Folks to divert their

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their Humours upon one another? For there they may be as witty as they please, since they are both bad enough to be believ'd; If People must not sell their Votes and Good Words, why should they be allow'd to Traffick with their Bad ones?

It is some Degree of Security, not to be able to tell wherein consists our Danger: What are we afraid of? says a Brave English Heart, the Pope, the Turk, the Devil, or the French King? the last of 'um we have almost compass'd, and why should we be afraid of the other Three? Nay 'tis whisper'd, that they most commonly go together; Are we such Terrible Fellows, that we are afraid of one another? I am sure the Little Folks have no Reason to be afraid of the Great Ones, for they are so obliging, we begin to fancy 'tis all hail Fellow: and could they that are our Betters make us half as good-natur'd as themselves, we should have twice the Holy-days in the Year we have; However, we hold Wrangling and Contention to be meer Modes and Fashions, and we would ever now and then lay 'um aside, but presently some Contriver takes it up, gives it a Nicer Cut or Fresh Trimming, and puts it off again to

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us for a perfect new Fancy: When we are Hoarse with Barking and Snarling, and just about to lye down lovingly together, some unlucky Hand throws in another Bone, and presently the whole Kennel are at it again Tooth and Nail; Now, for my Part, I see no Reason for all this: He that sees a few Sparks rising out of a Chimney, has no Occasion to cry, Fire: and if there be a Paper-Kite and a Neck-horn hanging over the Town, there's no such great Necessity to mount a Telescope, or turn to Ptolomy's Canon; I am sensible that Little Things must be minded: He that steals Sheep ought not to be spar'd, though there's no Danger of spreading the Principle, and raising a Party of Mutton-Mongers: Upon such an Occasion as this, I should hold forth to the People, to recover their Ancient Glory and Reputation: and I would prompt my Leaders, to cry, March on, Brave Boys! and let your Courage be very Great, for your Danger is very Small.

When a Society happens to make a Change, though it be a very good one, yet every Body almost is for spoiling it, and by tossing and tumbling it about, each Modeler finds a New End to't, and then rows it off upon his own Bottom, for his own private

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private Use, whenever he has a Mind to be Botching and Mending; One good Turn, they say, deserves another: but if we turn it, and wind it, and turn it as we please; we shall at last by pulling different ways, break the Chue, and then we may get out of the Labyrinth if we can; To me, the Clown and the Conqueror are both alike: A knowing Difference between Gorgius and Alexander, be that Hampers it, and be that Curs it, are equally Enemies to the Oracle.

Nothing is of more Importance and more Useful to the Publick, than Representation; I am not going to make a Critick upon Tragedy and Comedy, only it must be observ'd, that the Despotick Power of our Poets to make Heroes and fine Gentlemen, is a notorious Violation of the Rights of Mankind; Now the World consists of Two Parts, Vices and Vertues: and 'tis of use to us to be duly represented in Both; The diffusive Powers of Wisdom, Goodness, Loyalty, Vertue, Courage, and the like, being handsomely Collected into a few Heads and Hands, make our Rulers, Senators, Patriots, and other Great Folks: and this Method is altogether as necessary as the drawing together of many Little Figures into a Summ Total, which

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is the ready way to know our Strength and Value, and how much we are Worth. On the other Hand, no Body can see his own Face, but by Reflection and Representation: and therefore 'tis equally requisite, that some Publick Spirited Persons should take upon 'um to represent us in our Vices, as well as in our Vertues. The Jewish Custom was to make use of a Brute, in this Case, and to lay all their Sins upon the Head of the Scape-Goat, and then turn him loose into the Wilderness; In the Popish Countries there is in every Parish a Gentleman in Black, who once a Month takes upon him the Iniquities and Transgressions of his Neighbourhood, but, which is not very fair, he most commonly returns the Punishment of 'um upon his Parishoner's Hands again; In Courts and Palaces a Comedian in chief, is kept by the Publick, who claims as his own all the Follies and Vices incident to such places, which he is ready to exhibit again upon Demand: But this of late has been found too great a Burden for a single Person; The Puns, Quibbles, Blunders, and Canundrams, that happen every year in an University, are carefully collected together, and faithfully represented in a Tripus or Terræ-filius: What these are

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are with Relation to Philosophy, Hereticks and Schismaticks are with respect to Religion: and therefore for want of a Representation in this Case, the Author of the Rights has generously undertaken the Office: There is now no want of a compleat Catalogue of Heresies, or a Schismatical Alphabet: as in History we fight over all the Battles, repeat the fine Speeches, and act over all the brave Actions of the Ancients: so here, we may laugh over all the Merry Jests and Witticisms, and all the pretty Pranks of the Heterodox in all Ages: For my own part I know not how long this Jolly Fit would have lasted me, had not a Neighbour of mine most unseasonably interrupted me; He is a little Melancholly, and has the Spleen to a very high degree, especially in Cloudy Weather; His Ordinary Studies are, Tryals, Examinations, Sessions Papers, Dying Speeches, Martyrologies, and so forth: He has perhaps the finest Draughts of Wheels, Racks, Gallowses, Stocks, and Fetters, now extant, a Copy of which has been transmitted to the Plantations; This Gentleman sent me the Book of Rights, and at the End almost of every Paragraph, he had written on the Margent——For this Principle, such a Heretick was Burnt,

Anno

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Anno ——— John ——— suffer'd for this at
such a Council ——— Alphonso de ———
was whipt for this, at Cartbage, in the
Year ——— or some such like Sentence: so that
there was scarce a Paragraph, but some
body had been laid by the Heels for, had
their Nose slit, were mark'd in the Fore-
head, or suffer'd some such memorable Dis-
aster thereupon: Inasmuch, that I was so
frighted at the Account, and so horribly in
pain for my Old Friend, that I fancy'd the
Candle burnt Blue (for you must know I
ventur'd to read all this by Candle-light)
and began to imagine Bears Heads and Ly-
ons Paws upon the Curtains, and from that
time to this, could never be perswaded, that
there was so much as one Drachm of Sheer
Wit, from one End of the Book to the
other.

The last Time I play'd at Bandy, the
way was, to divide the Company into Equal
Parts; and then whoever chang'd Sides was
Rumpt, that is had the gentle Bastinado
given him: but the Ball of Contention,
thrown in between both Parties, was always
cufft and bang'd about till either it perish'd
in the Scuffle, or was beaten quite out of
the Field; I desire no body would be afraid
of an Allegory, but I have often observ'd
that the Sports and Pastimes of Children,
do

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do very nearly resemble the Controversies of Men.

Whilst I am talking at this Rate, whoever thinks he does me honour by supposing I design to confute the Rights, or that I really have done it, is most consumedly mistaken: For I am conscious to my self I want the main Help for such an Undertaking, which is, Authority: and I neither design to usurp upon my Superiors, or take their Business off their Hands; Alas! I have that respect for the Author, that I should be glad to see him under the Care of much more able Casuists: all I intend is to step in after a friendly manner, and give him a kind Thump or Two, to put him out of his Pain.

My First Preface was like a Turn-Style: this I design shall be like a Gate that opens both ways: which though it be more noisy, yet 'tis equally Hospitable and Courteous: for whether the Gentle Passenger comes or goes, he finds the Road easy, and meets with the same Civil Reception.

FRAG.

The Preface
to my new and useful the Compendious of

Will. I am falling at the Gate upon
your Rights as does me honour by supposing
I desire to confer the Rights on this
FRAGMENTA
ET
MEMORABILIA.

CArđinal *Portocarrero* having, a little before his Death, thought fit to take Mr. *Timothy's* Advice, and to own King *Charles* for King of Spain: The Author of *The Rights* is desir'd not to put off that Matter, but to consider the Dangers of a Death-bed Repentance. *Vide the Publick Prints and 1. Vol. Tim. pa.*

..... Advice University . .
Cambridge *Dele* . . . *Whiston* . . .
He has not so much as heard whether there
be any

A Whimsical Book, said the Great
Cungerius, at the Council of *Ariminum*;
(when 'twas inquir'd, why some Hereti-
cal

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cal Papers were not abolish'd) Is truly like a *Phoenix*, the Fire produces another *Edition*.

The Happy *Union* having been accomplish'd since the Writing of the *Rights*, the Author is desir'd to let us know, what is become of the Churches, which he said stood in the way, both that which led the *Van*, and that which brought up the *Reer*.

Alphonsus de Levellio being to prove the Consistency of the *Primum Mobile* and the *Summum sive Ultimum*, did it in this manner

. *Quod erat Demonstrandum.*

Mr. *Timothy* desires all the Followers of Mr. *Lock* to take notice, that 'tis one of his great and fundamental Maxims, that Wit and its Pretences are not to be enquir'd into, or examin'd too strictly.

N. B. Whereas it was said in the *First Volume* of *Timothy*, that the *Second* would be out in June following: This is to satisfy all Impartial Lovers of Truth, that the

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the said Clause was a Mistake: The Author most ingenuously professing, that whenever he is convinc'd of an Error, he will never fail to Retract it Publickly.

Mr. Timorby, returns Mr. Trim, his History of May-Poles, Rosemary-Spriggs, Popes-Eyes, Market-Crosses, Weather-Cocks, Apostles-Spoons, and other almost forgotten Notions of Reformation: and by way of Gratitude to the said Mr. Trim will alter that Expression of his, pa. ——— *Wig from a Barber* ——— into ——— *Wig from a Perriwig-maker* — which is order'd to be inserted in the Errata.

..... *All-Souls* Purg'd
 Better observ'd, or
 set further
 *All Saints*
 *Next Almanack*
 *Oxford*

The Author having lately had an Occasion to make Use of his Dictionary, and finding therein, that *Whig* and *Tory* signify such Persons, as were either for or against King Charles the 2d, who, as appears by the *Almanack*, dy'd several years

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years ago: Notice is hereby given, that the said Words are *Obsolete*, and all Persons concern'd are desir'd to mark 'em down in their Books accordingly.

The Company of the Footstationers give notice: That next Week will be publish'd, *An entire Collection of Tracts*, written concerning Church and State, in the late Times: Consisting of 3675 Volumes in Octavo stich'd: Which is done to prevent some malicious *Pirates* from publishing the same, under New and Original Titles, such as ——— *Answers* ——— *Animadversions* ——— *Reasons* ——— *Considerations* ——— *Defences* ——— *Accounts* ——— *Replies* ——— *Examinations*, &c. Note, the said 3675 Volumes are Epitomiz'd by an Eminent Hand, and the whole Argument and Substance of the same briefly stated in a single Sheet of Paper. Price One Penny.

If that Text — *Heb. 2. 11. (Let the Beam out of the Timber answer them)* were duly explain'd and enlarg'd upon, it would put an End to several Controversies now on foot.

A Sett of Solid Orbs, Machines, Phantasms,

Fragmenta & Memorabilia.

tasms, Logarithms, and Ideas, compar'd with a Sett of Ruffs, Shoulder-knots, Ear-dingals, and Furbeleans: Whereby the several Sects of Philosophers are dated, and fix'd to certain Periods and Terms of Duration: Containing, Proposals for a Scientificall Almanack.

In Little Britain next Door to
Lives the *Immortalizing Doctor*, who prepares the newest and best Pickle for preserving Souls sweet and clean, till the Day of Judgment, and longer if requir'd; He has likewise all sorts of *Adscititious Spirits* to dispose of: Also, he makes the Famous Powder of *Annihilation*, with which he furnishes all Ladies and Gentlemen at Reasonable Rates.

He that expects to see *Transubstantiation* prov'd from the impossibility of having any Idea of Substance, as maintain'd in *The Essay on Human Understanding*, must stay, till ——— Lock, for Mystery, abandons Sense.

SIR,

I hope my Lord Du——'s Groom has at last satisfy'd you for the Boots: I know he was led into a very dangerous

Error

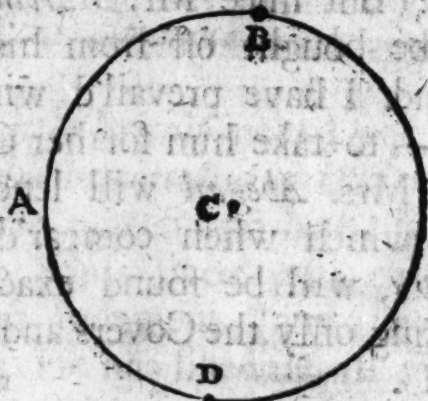
Fragmenta & Memorabilia.

Error by *his Lordship's* refusing to Pay for his Full-bottom Wig: All which proceeds from a Heterodox Principle, *that Persons of Quality are not ty'd up to the same Rules of Morality with other People*; But since Mr. Martingal is willing to be bought off from his Heresy aforesaid, I have prevail'd with my Lady ——— to take him for her Gentleman-Usber; Mrs. Abegail will lend him her Bible, which when compar'd with *her Ladyship's*, will be found exactly alike, excepting only the Covers and Gilding

The Ancient *Writt of Misrepresentation*, reviv'd which lies against all those, that shall wilfully Misconstrue, Misinterpret, or Mistake, the Words, Sayings, or Notions of the Living, or Dead; The Petition and Claim in behalf of Seven Prophets, Twelve Apostles, Four Evangelists, Eight Fathers, Nineteen Bishops, Fourteen Councils, besides Commentators, Preachers, Historians, Politicians, Universities, Parliaments, Synods, and Conventions without Number, against the *Author of the Rights*, will be heard speedily.

Fragmenta & Memorabilia.

Dr. Double's Account of *Moderation*, which he Demonstrates from the Moral Hypothesis of the *Medium* and *Two Extremes*, is further explain'd by the following *Diagram*.



A is the first Mover of the Great Machine, otherwise call'd, the *Wheel of Fortune*, **B** is the Zenith, **C** the Center, and **D** the Nadir, the First the *Highest*, the Third the *Lowest* Point, and the Second *between both*; Supposing then a *Circumvolution*, when a compleat Semi-circle is turn'd round, the Point **D** must necessarily take the Place of the Point **B**, and so *Vice Versâ*, whereas the Center keeps the same Place still, *Object*. All Heat begins from the Axle. *Answ.* The Center never fires, *Quia Punctum non habet Partes*.

Fragmenta & Memorabilia.

To *Benjamin Ballot, Esq;* the Epistle
Dedicatory of *Harry Martin's Tragedy of
Nimrod*, begins thus ——— Honour'd
Sir! I know you are fully satisfy'd in
that Fundamental Truth, That a full
Cry makes a Pack of Doggs, and that a
Pack of Doggs does undoubtedly make a
Huntfman: I wish all the Esquires

The Opinion and Judgment of the Re-
verend Mr. *Walton Tyler*, Mr. *John Straw*,
Mr. *Christopher Tanner*, Mr. *John Cade*,
and other Celebrated Casuists, touching
the Nature, Power, and Extent of Re-
bellion.

Verses written in a square Leaf of
——— *Priestcraft in Perfection* ———
Humbly intreating the Learned Author,
not to value himself upon a Discovery,
which cost the first Inventor his Ears.

Monsieur Le Clerc may defer his Trea-
tise in defence of Turn-coats, Intitl'd
——— *An Expostulation with the Moon*,
seriously advising her, not to turn the
same Face always towards us——— Till
the Art of making new Bibles is tolerably
advanc'd and improv'd, which will in-
fallibly

Fragmenta & Memorabilia.

fallibly reconcile all manner of Differences and Disputes.

Lately come over from *Turky*, a very *Neat Edition* of the *Letter of Entbusiasm*, with Additions: Wherein the Veneration due to Madmen, is further explain'd and justify'd: With a Postscript in Praise of the Author. By that Faithful Muffulman, *Rabbi*

Newly Erected an *Equivocation Office*, wherein are adjusted, the Claims and Pretensions of all Faculties and Professions, and all manner of Evasions, Shifts, Distinctions, Explanations, and Double Entendres, both Civil and Ecclesiastical, are expos'd to Sale; The Society, for restoring the Ancient approv'd Method of Punning and Quibling, in order to Reconcile the Famous Controversy between *Principle and Preferment*, meet here; Where all Persons, who have any Occasion may, bring their Consciencies to be weigh'd, and also valu'd by a *Sworn Appraisor*. *Note*, the *Company* are at present in want of a sober young Man, who writes a fair Hand, in order to ballance the Account of the *Company's* Stock, consisting of *Two Columns*, by way of *Debtors* and

Fragmenta & Memorabilia.

and *Creditor*, inscrib'd — *For Term of Years* — and — *For ever.*

The Difference between *An Act of Parliament*, and a *Law of Nature* : With Reasons, why we suffer one of 'em to be made for us, when we can so readily make the other for our selves ; Also, a Parallel between the *Three Estates*, the *Understanding*, the *Will*, and the *Vote*.

A Tryal of Skill to be perform'd at Between the *Mace*, and the *Crabstaff*, as also between the *Painted Clubb*, and the *Smooth Quarterstaff* ; the Dispute concerning *Natural Heads*, and those that are *Heterogenious*, both belonging to *Cudgels* and *Oaken Plants*, will be ended

Wherefore is it, that we import the *Skins of Bears*, *Tygers*, and *Lyons*, without the *Bodies* ? Can there be *Living*

In the enlarging of *Petticoats*, Let there be one greater than all the Rest, and then

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Fragmenta & Memorabilia.

The *Controversy Clubb* or Proposals for a Society for Reformation of the Press, consisting of above a Thousand Persons, appointed in turn to answer all the scandalous Books and Pamphlets that come out: Their Number to be enlarg'd, according as the said Books and Pamphlets shall increase; Several Committees are already appointed, as *The Committee of Tryers*, before whom all Persons concern'd in the Excellent Manufacture of *Fools Caps*, are to appear with their Goods, both Plain and Furbelau'd, in order to have the same fitted to their several Customers; Also, the *Committee of Systematical Stage-players*, who are to represent to the Life, all the Modern Models, Schemes, and Hypotheses, and that both by Dialogue, Gesture, and Machine: which, 'tis thought, will effectually suppress all Profane Interludes, Farces, Revels, *Wassalings*, *Rope* and *Ladder-dances*, with all *Puppet-shows*, and *Collections of Monsters*, both Foreign and Domestick.

In the enlarging of *Politicans*, I find there be one greater than all the Rest, and then
The

THE
SECOND PART
OF THE
DIALOGUE
BETWEEN

Timothy and Philatheus, &c.

P. **N**AY, Prithee, *Tim!* Come along for Shame. — *What? Sneak? Turn'd flincher?* — Didst thou not Promise we should have t'other *Bout* together? — Come along! What art thou Musing upon, *Tim*, Hey!

T. My own Happiness.

P. And what art thou so very Happy in?

T. An Adversary.

P. Meaning me, Sir?

T. The very Same.

P. And, Prithee, in what do I contribute so very much to thy Happiness, *Tim*?

T. Why, by procuring me all the Pleasures of *Controversy*, without the ill Will of *Parties*.

P. Ay, *Tim*!

T. Most certainly; for here, in the Com-
B mon

A Dialogue between VOL. II.

mon Scuffle, one tuggs hard at *One End* of the Question, and another at *to'ther End* of the Question, and the *Followers* hang about one another's *Middle*, pulling this Way and that Way, and they cry—*Hearts of Gold!*—*Down with 'em!*—And *Hey! Brave Boys, for up go we!*—And tho' the Sport goes forward, yet because every Body is concern'd in the Bustle, no Body keeps their good Humour; Now, you for your Part, are against both Sides; and therefore, the First that steps out to *lay you flat*, will certainly have the Applauses of the *Whole Ring*.

P. Then you think, I have no Party?

T. Heav'n be thanked! I hear of None.

P. I'm against the *High-Flyers*, *Tim!* And the *Tories*.

T. Ay, but Authors are not to be try'd by their *Title-Pages*; Besides, you are as much against the *Whiggs*; and prithee, Represent the Enemy as formidable as you can, the Conquest will be the Greater.

P. In General, I am for the *Rights* of Mankind.

T. If you be, then the Rest of Mankind are all in the *Wrong*.

P. And so, all this while you are Happy in me, and pleas'd with my proceedings.

T. And have I not very good Reason? For, suppose now, a Smart Gentleman should come up to me, and begin thus;—*Resist?*—or—*Not Resist?*—Which are you for?—*Excuse me Sir*, say I,—I'm engag'd already to a Pretty Gentleman, that cries,—*Rebel*, and *Cut Heads off?*—Or put Case, a Fellow should bring me *two Themes* to declaim upon,—*Bishop* and *Presbyter*

VOL. II. Timothy and Philatheus.

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Presbyter :—You prompt me presently, and whisper, *Neither* ? So to't you and I go without more Ceremony : And after the same Manner, when we are both hard at it about—*No Church at all*,—What have *High Church* or *Low Church* to do to meddle, or interrupt us in our Stories ? For my Part, I have at present no Business with any Body but my Old Friend *Philatheus* : We are at it *single Hand*, and let the Rest of the Gamesters Play as they please, we'll neither *cast Knaves*, nor *take Corners*.

P. Prithee, *Tim*, let me have the *Whiggs* on my Side, and do thou take the *Tories*.

T. What have you made so many *Tory* Premises, and drawn down so many *Tory* Conclusions, now to come and Desert your Old Friends ? Have you forgot the Story of *Private Consciences* ? E'en, let it be my Conscience against Yours, and let 'em both speak for themselves : Didn't you declare for *Private Judgment* and *Conscience* ? And do you now call for *Whig* and *Tory* ?

P. Don't be Angry, *Tim*.

T. *Fy ! Fy !* What go and preremptorily Pronounce against Sides and Parties, and declare for free Thinking and Reason at Large, and then when you had taken your *Rational Table*, and ras'd out all the *Inscriptions* of Education, Law, Gospel, and Government, now to come and enter down your Cause in Form :—*Whig contra Tory* ?—

P. Prithee, don't be Angry, *Tim* !

T. For shame, *Phil* ! Didn't you profess the Divine Right of frequent Alterations, and positively denounce War against every Thing

Chap. V. By Law Establish'd? And have you swallow'd the Term at last, and begin to talk of Settlement and Constitution?

P. What would'st thou have of me, Tim?

T. Why, let it run as it did in the Case of Churches,——Be neither.——

P. Enough! Enough! If I suffer thee to put thy self out of Humour, I shall have but a very indifferent Time with thee.

T. Dear Dr! Your Hand, and your Pardon; I am as Calm as a Custard, and as Good natur'd as a Gooseberry Fool:——I own my Fault, for presuming to be out of Humour in such diverting Company: But I recant, and am prepar'd to be Merry;——Strike up, as soon as you please Sir.

• See the First Volume.

P. If you remember, Tim, the last Time we talk'd together, we made an End of the Fourth Chapter.

Chap. V.

T. And so we proceed to, *The Devil upon Dunstan, or the Fryar and the Foxes Tail.*

P. You see, Tim, that all Princes are Naturally Jealous of New Doctrines: Lest they diminish their Power and Prerogative, or occasion disturbances among their People; and it must needs prejudice them against Christianity, if that be designed to create new Independent Powers in the State, and to divide the Government. This was the Reason, why those Princes who tolerated Christianity at first, when they found the Drift of the Priests, soon extirpated it with Fire and Sword.

T. Now I find, Phil, the great Convenience of Dividing a Book into Chapters, for then the Train of the Discourse being interrupted, an Author may now and then popp down an Opinion

Opinion in one *Chapter*, altho' he has in another *Chap. V.* ther very stiffly maintain'd the Contrary: ~~~~~

Thus, suppose I were to enquire the Reasons, why the Christian Clergy are in many Places such Favourites at Court, and so much caress'd and belov'd by Kings and Princes: Perhaps, I might urge, that 'tis because they teach Obedience to Kings, not only out of Fear of the Gallows and the sake of a Temporal Punishment, but on the severer Penalty of Everlasting Fire; That *Rebellion* was as *Witchcraft*, and the Devil being himself a *Prince*, would be sure to hold all such as were given to Mutiny, much faster than Ordinary; But now when this is over, after I have prov'd 'em Favourites at Court, for being *Tories* and *Tanti-vy-Men*, then I come to enquire the Reasons of the Decay of Christianity, and I tell the Clergy, that they are a Pack of Usurping High-Flyers, and Trumpeters of Independency, not fit to be encourag'd in any State whatever: And that it is no Wonder they are cry'd down, and persecuted from City to City. All this while an Impartial Examiner of Matters, will acknowledge, That the Design of Christianity, was in a great Measure to infringe the Powers and Privileges of some Sort of Potentates; As suppose a Heathen Prince should be perswaded by his *Jester*, and the *Addresses* of his Subjects, that he was Immortal, and thereupon should huff *Jupiter*, and defie *Saturn*, and think himself as good as they, and expect as much Honour and as many *Sacrifices* at a *Meal*; Or suppose he should not absolutely turn *Atheist*, but only *Dissenter*, and should change his *Gods*, and fall down to the Sun or the

Chap. V. Moon, or any of those Deities, that according to your Notion of Divinity, are *Useful to the Publick*; Or put the Case he should be a little *Heterodox* in his Opinion of *Meum* and *Tuum*, so as to think it no Crime at any Time by his *Deputies* the *Dragoons*, to break up his Subjects Houses, Rob their Orchards, or carry off their Ducks and Geese: And among the Rest of the Plunder, here and there a Plump Girl or so, design'd for *his Majesties* more Especial Use and Service; Now all these Rights and Prerogatives of Princes, Religion did resolve to usurp upon, and if possible to pull down and humble; whereas had our Bishops and Preachers taken your advice, and most complaisantly humour'd their Protectors in all these *Noble Attributes*; had they turn'd *Pimps*, *Pandars*, *Butchers*, and *Captains of Horse*; no doubt Christianity would have flourish'd and prosper'd; But for their sawcy Harangues and Prate against these *Prerogatives*, they were all doom'd to the Fire and the Spit, like Woodcocks and Widgeons: and were deservedly knock't on the Head only for want of Brains; Now that this was the Cause of their Down-fal, I appeal to the Dismal Stories of the *ten Persecutions*; Had it been as you would insinuate, for their setting up a Distinct Jurisdiction, and contending for Secular Power; they would have taken a quite different Course than they did; would have fortify'd their Steeples, Muster'd their Congregations, and improv'd the Doctrine of a *Church Militant*, and have met their Rival fairly in the Field, and not have dy'd all, like Dogs, by the *Battoon* and the *Halter*. Here now is *Jacobitism*, *Highflying*, and

and Timothy with a Vengeance: When it shall Chap. V.
 be made an Argument for abolishing Christianity, that it supplies the World with most of those Arguments, that *Softens* and *Qualify* the Nature of Government, and render Monarchy so *Easy*, *Merciful*, and *Moderate*; and if as you farther urge, all those Religions must be extirpated, that pretend to Independency, then what will become of the Dissenters? For their Religions pretend to be *Divine*, and consequently *Independent*. What Pity 'tis, we can't have a Religion, that's purely Human; Could you succeed in such a Project as this, I know not what Reward you might expect from Kings and Princes, to whose Favour you Address your self so complaisantly; But if you would fain incense 'em against the Clergy, for pretending only to a *Share* in the Government, how will you skreen your self from their Anger, who give away all to the People? If the *First* were to be extirpated with *Fire* and *Sword*; the *Last* must certainly deserve *Fire* and *Brimstone*.

P. You know, *Tim*, that 'tis the Nature of the *Supream*, to admit of *no Equal*.

T. Alack a Day, *Sir*! Should I but offer to hold such a Notion, I know you'd tell me that there is none *Supream*, no, not the *Grand Signior*, or *Cham of Tartary*: For every Monarch is made by his Subjects, and accountable to them: They are his *Equals*, nay, his *Superiors*, for he is *Minor Univerfis*, say the *Moderns*: But, *alas*! I forgot you hold the Right of *changing Forms*: So, he may be absolute in this *Chapter*, who was accountable and Dependent in the *Introduction*.

Chap. V.

P. Well, but I am talking now of the *Roman Empire*: that, you know, was absolute: And in that Christianity was first Planted; now d'ye think, the Emperor would have suffer'd such a Doctrine as that of *Imperium in Imperio*, to be propagated? A Doctrine, never heard of in those Days; and must not this obstruct the Progress of Religion?

T. Well, but would your Doctrine of a *People above an Emperor*, have been receiv'd better? And yet don't you make it the Doctrine of *Nature*, and so, necessary to be preach't every where? Besides, if you'll have no Religion establish'd, but what suits with the grossest Impieties and Usurpations in a Pagan State, I see not where you'll find a Church, unless it be *Hobbi's*, that can be worth a Prince's Notice; That is, you must let Princes make their own Churches, and then I think Christianity hath nothing to do to usurp upon *Diana*, *Jupiter*, *Mahomet*, or any other of the Gods and Goddesses, *As by Law establish'd*. After this, for you to say, that the Doctrine of an *Imperium in Imperio*, was a Novelty in the Empire, whereas you had before quoted one of the *Cæsars*, and he the very *First* of 'em too, to prove it, is strangely Odd and Ill-favour'd; To me that Doctrine seems to be Universal, and allow'd of by Kings, Emperors, and Potentates of all Sorts; Masters of Families, Lawyers, Physicians, Colleges, and Companies of Merchants, and many other Separate Societies, have Independent Rights belonging to 'em, as well as the Clergy, in all Nations whatever; But as for the Roman Empire, it appears from the Body of the Laws, that many

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ny of their Provinces and Cities had distinct Chaps. vi.
Charters and Rights of their own, which were
certainly Independent; since you and your
Tories can never say, that a Charter is a Grant
of Favour, or may be seiz'd at Pleasure with-
out Injury and Injustice. This is *Jacobinism*
and *Tantivy*, fit only for a *Modern Roman*, such
as *Le Chaise* and *Father Peters*.

P. But with what Face could the Christians
pretend, their Religion was disinterested and
free from selfish Ends, since it gave 'em such
great Power and Riches, and a Title to the
Tenth Part of Mens Lands, as well as the Pro-
duct of their Industry.

T. Why, does it give 'um such a Title?
And will it pass in the *Chequer*? I profess,
here's Joy for the *Vicars*. Their small Benefi-
ces shall be all translated into *Prebends* and *Dean-
eries*; And yet I'll warrant, when they went
into Orders, they little expected such a Mira-
cle: So that still their Consciences are right,
and free from the Imputation of Self-Interest;
But then I would fain know, why this same
Self-Interest is so mightily inveigh'd against
in Matters of Religion; 'Twas certainly a
Fault, even before Christianity came up; Men,
by the Moral Law, were oblig'd to be *Gen-
tles*, and *Publick-Spirited*, to be kindly dis-
pos'd towards their Neighbours, and not to
be *Narrow*, *Covetous*, and *Selfish*; And yet e-
ven in those Days, 'twas a very hard Matter
to persuade a Parcel of Soldiers to kill one a-
nother, without being pay'd for't; Or a *Dr.*
to bring 'um to Life again, without the same
Consideration; Generosity has, no doubt,
been the Duty of *Carriers*, and *Postboys*, ever
since

Chap. V.

since they were in Being; and yet it is not to be expected, they should be so Generous, as to *Frank* every *Mail* of themselves, or Voluntarily write, *Carriage Pay'd*, upon every *Pack* or *Road Waggon*; Perhaps you imagine, the Apostles only were oblig'd to travel the World over, tho' they were sure to starve by the Way; 'Tis true, they are commanded to pawn their Cloaths, that is, if they wanted Swords, which are Civil and Carnal Weapons: But then, what were they to Pawn, to buy Cloaths? For they were not absolutely bound to go Naked: Must they pawn their Books? So far from any such thing, that St. Paul, when he sends for his *Library*, orders even his *Cloke*, the most *useless Garment* he had, to be also Part of the Bundle; Oh! But say you, tho' we should allow a Maintenance, yet must we enrich the Clergy, and give 'um all the Fortunes of Gentlemen? Now let every Sober Christian look over his Papers carefully, and take an exact account of his *Butler*, his *Cook*, his *Huntsman*, his *Taylor*, his *Butcher*, and his *Parson*, and he will soon see, if the *Last* of his Family, be not by much the *Cheapest*, and yet by far the most *necessary Retainer*: And whether he has not good Reason to *bless* his *Soul*, for being so very *Saving* and *Frugal*; for even according to Modern Computation, Self-Denyal is absolutely requir'd, to all that take Orders: Since many of 'um, unless well provided for in their Civil Capacity, must expect at least to *Live Martyrs*: And there seems to be no great Necessity of that Clause in Ordination, whereby they renounce all Motives to the Ministry, upon any *Carnal Account*:

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Account; Indeed, if here and there a *Fat Benefice*, or *Rectory* of the first Rank, stand full in Sight, and just by the *Cross-Way*: So that 'tis Impossible it should escape Observation: Yet how many Sneaking Vicaridges and Lean Endowments are there, that are not to be distinguish'd from the *Lay-Cottages*, unless the *Canonical Criterion* of *Black Breeches* be hung out on the Hedge, or the Scarecrows in the Orchard, be dress'd in the *Orthodox* Equipment of a *Greasy Beaver* and *Crape*; Nay, it's forty to one, if there be not here and there a *Journeyman Levite*, belonging to the *Don* with *Three Chins*, who has every whit as good Orders, tho' not so Good a *Patron*; And yet let not even the *Right Reverend* Rabbi, boast himself in the *Lot of his Inheritance*: For his Lands belong to the Church, and must upon the Demise, return back again into the Common Scramble: And thereupon the Heir of his Library and his Coach, may be content with a Place in the *Guards*, or some Preferment at the Mannor House, or Stable, where it may be his Fortune perhaps to rub down the very same Horses, that heretofore carry'd his Father so triumphantly to Church! Should a Man spend his Time in the Study of Navigation, or the Art of War: and should make some tolerable Proficiency therein, and perhaps be Master of some Extraordinary Invention, which, upon Tryal should be found Successful, and it may be save a Fleet, or take a City: Such a one, might very reasonably complain of the Ingratitude of the Age, and Neglect of Merit, if no Notice should be taken of his Person, and the *Places* of the *Tower* and *Admiralty*

rowl

Chap. V. rowl all over his Head, and he never the better for him: And yet, I'll engage, as times go, there shall be as much Learning, Wisdom, and Prudence, requir'd in that Person, who stands Candidate for a *Lecture* of 30 *l. per annum*, as if duely distributed in a Corporation, would serve five or six *Mayors*, successively, and yet something be still left for the Aldermen: Or which, if handsomely apply'd in a Secular Way, would make a Man much more Considerable upon the *Bench*, or behind the Counter, than ever he must expect to be in the *Pulpit*.

P. But how comes it to pass, Tim, that we take a Clergyman's Word in Matters relating to his own Jurisdiction; This is not Fair, nor allow'd of in any Court whatever.

T. In Cases of Private Right I grant you, but not where the Publick is concern'd; for I would fain know, how you can discover, what is the Jurisdiction of any of the Courts of *Westminster*, or of the *Parliament* it self, but by the Records belonging to it: Now in producing these, is it not plain the Court bears witness of it self, and asserts its own Jurisdiction? And I really think the Records of the Church, are as good as those of *Chancery*; Nay, I cannot find by any the most Ancient Accounts, that the Primitive Preachers of the *Queens Bench*, nor the Apostles of the *Affixes*, could for the better Confirmation of their Authority, make a Man whole again, that had had his Bones broke in an *Action* of *Battery*, or restore a Wretch to Life, that had been executed unjustly.

P. Thou art quite out, Tim! For the Clergy

gy had another way of promoting their own Chap. IV
System: and that was, their pretending to
die for their Religion, and to be *Martyrs*;
But this has been done by *Atheists* and *Infidels*,
such as *Vaninus*, *Effendi*, and *Empedocles*.

T. Now, by my faith, *Phil*, you are an
accomplish'd *Tory*: for if you have no more
regard for *Martyrs*, how can you have any for
those that are only *persecuted*? Nay, you are
so very *Termagant* a *Tory*, that I'll engage by
this one Sentence, you have made more *Mar-*
tyrs than did *Nero* or *Commodus*: for what
makes a *Martyr*, but only the *Condemning* and
Executing him, without *hearing* his *Cause*?
which is just your way, since you make no
scruple to reckon *Effendi* and *Vaninus* with
St. Thomas and *St. Stephen*, and to compare
Two or Three vile Wretches, who, as all
Historians agree, died purely for the sake of
Vanity, with vast Infinite Numbers of *Saints*
and *Holy Persons*, who, as the same Historians
agree, died purely for the sake of Religion;
This, methinks, should amount to your cele-
brated Right of a *Majority*: at least, it ac-
quits 'em, from all manner of self-interest:
since in deprivation of Life, even by your
own Philosophy, is effectually included, *De-*
privation of *Deanary* and *Bishoprick*; Besides,
Phil, *Empedocles* and *Vaninus* were really *Cox-*
combs, and did not understand their Business:
for, to compleat the Project, they should have
come to Life again after they were dead, if
they had had any Sense or Ingenuity.

P. I would not have thee, *Tim*, any longer
justify the Clergy's assuming an Independent
Power; since their Ambitious Pretensions,
Pride,

Chap. V. Pride, and loose Living, have made many
Deists and *Atheists*.

T. As for the scandalous Clergy, I would have you summon 'em all by name, and calling for your *Scull-cap* and *Elbow-chair*, read 'um such a Lecture, as should make 'em for ever asham'd of their *Double-chins*, their *Abnegals*, powder'd *Wiggs*, and *Bellarmines*; But if you really design to be serious with 'um, and to make 'em keep their Countenances: I would by all means advise you, not to let 'um know that 'tis the increase of their Power that makes *Atheists* and *Deists*, for fear some of the *perter* sort should tell you again, that if they had but Power enough they would not leave any of that sort of Cattle unsacrific'd; To me, the Man, that says, he turn'd *Atheist* for the sake of his Bottle, or love of a pretty Girl, seems to talk tolerably: but t'would be very ridiculous to say, he turn'd *Atheist*, that he might be exempt from the Spiritual Court, and pay no more Tythes: since 'tis as notorious as can be, that this will never do the Trick: and to say he turn'd *Atheist*, because his Parson is a Rake, amounts to thus much in plain *English*: That if my Neighbour is bad, 'tis a good reason for me to be worse; In truth, *Phil*. this is a very short way to make an End of Christianity, when the *Scandalous Lives* of the Clergy, shall be made a very just occasion for the *Scandalous Opinions* of the Laity.

P. Prithee, what is it has rooted Christianity out of so many Kingdoms, made so many Infidels in Spain, and prevented the Conversion of the *Moors*, but the Clergy's influencing

fluencing the State against all that oppos'd them and their Power, and the Bishops fighting and quarrelling with each other, and making Parties and Dependences? Chap. V.

T. All this while is it not very strange, that the Clergy should gain so much Power in the World, and be able to make such Interest: and yet that it should be unaccountable, as you would make us believe, and scarce possible, for any Prince to take an Affection to them; as also that they should be able to set People together by the Ears for nothing? Is it not an Argument, that there is something in what they teach, since 'tis worth fighting for? Nay, is it not plain, when the Bishops and Clergy were out of the way, yet People were never the more peaceable, but went together by the Ears for Religion, tho' they saw plainly she was slipt away in the scuffle? and is it not also very clear and apparent, even where our Bishops agree and live lovingly together, yet those, that are not Bishops, are never the Quieter for all that? And can there be a better Expedient to prevent quarrelling, than to part with all Religion at once? since if that be to be believ'd, Bloody Noses must unavoidably follow; Surely, it can't chuse but occasion Wars in *Sion*, and be a very lamentable Consideration to think, that such is the Savage Nature of our Church, and so averse to Good-breeding and Complaisance, that those polite People, the *Moors*, should refuse us the Honour of their Company, and all the Beaus in *Barbary* put on their *Indignation-Airs* at our Proceedings: especially in the Court of *Spain* too,

Chap. V.

too, where there are *Jesuits* and *Inquisitions*, *Portocareroes* and *Paritors*, and all other tender and gracious Invitations to *Uniformity*.

P. 'Twas the Independent Power, *Tim*, that occasion'd *Papery* in the *West*, and *Mabomitisim* in the *East*, a senseless Religion, that could never have risen, but by such an Advantage; and for this reason 'twas, that Kings and Princes submitted to the *Pope*, as being at a Distance, rather than subject themselves at home to their own Bishops.

T. Look ye, *Phil*, People are as much at variance about the *Rise* of the *Pope*, as they would be about his *Fall*, could they once get him into their Clutches; Some Folks say he had his *Triple Crown* from the Emperor *Phocas*: Some by Legacy from *Constantine*; And if so, then 'tis evident, he rose by being *Dependent*, and by *Court Interest*; Others say, that he rose by a pretended Jurisdiction above the rest of the *Eastern Sees*, and by Succession from *St. Peter*: whereas our *Saviour* design'd a *Perfect Equality* between the Apostles: If so, then it appears he got his Power by denying the *Immutable Form*; so that, take it either way, he's certainly very much oblig'd to you for justifying his Proceedings; And so far you may think your self right: but when you come, and say, that the reason, why so many Kings and Princes submitted to him, was because he liv'd at a Distance, and they had rather do so, than be Slaves at Home to their own Ecclesiastical Subjects, This I'm afraid won't so easily pass: since 'tis notorious, that no one of their Ecclesiastical Subjects ever undertook to affront their Monarch, but by
the

the Pope's Deputations; so that tho' the Chap. V.
Great Thunderer of all liv'd at Rome, yet he
had in most Countries a few subordinate
Squibbs and Crackers, that were always in a
readiness against every Coronation. As for
Mahometism, 'tis hard to suppose, that should
have began from the Independent Power,
since if any such had belong'd to Christianity,
they would have been sure to have exerted it
on so brave an Occasion; I should rather
think it rose from *free Thinking*, and from e-
very one's *judging for himself*, and by suppo-
sing *Policy and Religion to be all one*; But you
no more understand the *Rise* of that Religion,
than you do its Nature, how else could you
call it a senseless Religion, when 'tis made up
of nothing else but sense in perfection? and
is just what you would have, a Church purely
secular and political? and therefore, tho'
Christianity should have put forth all the
Might it ever pretended to, yet being alto-
gether Spiritual, 'tis not the first time by
Forty, that Policy and Sense have been too
hard for't.

P. Is it not plain in General, that Religion
runs to decay, and makes but a slow Progress
in the World? What can the Reason of that
be? the Fault is certainly in those, that have
the Management of it.

T. And don't you call your self one of
those Managers? and don't you give all
Church Power to the People? and is it not
Fact, that there are too many secular Medlers,
and that the Fault lies consequently as hard
upon the *Laity*, as the Clergy? However, *Phil*,
had you read the *incomparable Author* of *The*
Decay



Decay of Christian Piety, you would have been able to give a better Account of the matter, without abusing the Clergy; But to go about to palliate Religion, or which is as bad, to persuade the Clergy to do't, and to gild and gloss it over, to make it go down Glib with *Heathens* and *Infidels*, and to frame it by political Rules and a popular System, that it may take and get into vogue, is certainly a very idle, impertinent Project; Religion is of it self a System unfit to flourish, made in contradiction to Mankind, and design'd in a particular manner to recommend such Doctrines, as are at utter enmity with the Kingdoms and Powers of this World: To reconcile Goodness and Greatness, and to put an End to all those Vanities that are inseparable from a Court and a Throne; Nay, it was so calculated, as to be very irksome and painful even to the meanest of the People, especially in its first Rise: so that it seem'd contriv'd only to make *Beggars* and *Bankrupts*; He, that list'd of the *Church Militant*, was first resolv'd with *Ten Thousand* only to meet him that came against him with *Twenty Thousand*, and at the same time to be engag'd too in a *Civil War* at home: to renew the *Fable* of the *Members* and the *Belly*, and have 'em all in a *Mutiny* and *Rebellion*: His Soul and Body, that had been so long united and liv'd together as *Friends*, now part and quarrel, and fall foul of each other; There's no need of *Art* and *Invention*, to make such a System as this hard and difficult to be receiv'd: And yet, that it was admitted notwithstanding these Rubbs, is one main Argument of its Divinity; whereas, you

you are for making an *Alcaron* of the *Gospel*: Chap. V. for smoothing it over, and giving it a Gloss of Human Policy and State-craft: so that there shall be no knowing an *Apostle* or *Evangelist*, from *Machiavel* or *Cesar Borgia*: And yet the Wisdom of this World thus mixt with the Gospel, would certainly make the Whole to be *Foolishness with God*.

P. Now you, *Tim*, are for rendring Religion odious and distastful in the Eyes of unbelieving Princes.

T. Why, d'ye think, you have mended the Matter? Unbelieving Princes are altogether for an *absolute Form*: Now the *Ecclesiastical Scheme*, according to you, must go together with the *Civil*, and be in the same Hands, that is, all in the Hands of the People: Would this, think you, be acceptable to the *King of Bantam*, or would the *Czar of Muscovy* be pleas'd with it? 'Tis plain they Worship a set of Gods, that can do 'em no good, and if they would leave 'um to themselves, would do 'em no Mischief: Whereas you are for setting up an Idol call'd, *Private Conscience*, and a many-headed *Pagod*, call'd *Legion*, that would be sure to dethrone 'em all, tho' they fed 'em every day with Beef and Mutton, by *Hecatombs*.

P. Well, *Tim*, if thou hast a mind to see the dismal Effects of the Clergy's Power, do but survey 'em when assembled in Councils and Convocations, and when they act in Bodies.

T. With all my Heart, *Phil*: Draw the Scene! Down with the Curtain! and enter,

C 2

Dark

Dark Lanthorns all on a Row, or, The Black Guard, muster'd.

Chap. VI.

P. 'Tis absolutely necessary for the Preservation of Religion, that it should be wholly in the Power of the People: because, they can have no Temptation to abuse it: since, Religion being design'd for the good of Human Societies, ev'ry Deviation from it must be against their Interest; but, on the other hand, 'tis the Interest of the Clergy to corrupt Religion: because they can thereupon advance their own Power and Riches.

T. I grant you, *Phil*, Religion, if it be well manag'd, may certainly do as much mischief as *Gun-powder*: and truly, if Religion must be corrupted, as you seem to fancy, that's unavoidable, the Clergy, even by your own Character of 'em, are certainly best qualified for the Business; However, that the Laity might be sure to have their Turns: Things were so order'd about *Threescore years* ago, that Religion was intirely put into their Hands, to see what they would do with it: And whatever you may fancy in favour of the Clergy, yet, to the eternal Credit of the Laity, they tore up as many Hedges, broke as many Windows, and pull'd down as many Idols and *High-places*, as if they had been all *Popes* and *Patriarchs*; and really, Religion seems to be particularly troublesome in the Hands of the People; for when once they are persuaded that they are the *Saints of the Lord*, his *Beloved*, and *precious Ones*, and the only Friends he vouchsafes to visit: There are so many glorious Promises of *Thrones* and *Kingdoms*, and *Principalities*, annex'd to this Privilege,

vilege, that they resolve not to baulk *the Pro-Chap. VI. mises*, but to enter immediately upon the Premises, without any more adoe; and therefore, 'tis commonly observ'd, that the *Lambs* of the *Lord*, are as unlucky as *Coll. Kirk's*: so that the debasing of Religion for the sake of Power and Riches, falls as much to the share of the Laity as of the Clergy; and there's a great deal more reason for't, since the Clergy, generally speaking, have at least *Ten or Twenty Pounds a year*, already provided to their Hands: whereas, there are vast Numbers of the People, that want half that Summ, which 'tis no reason they should, so long as the *Lord* has so many *Gallant Livings* in his Gift; But if every Deviation from Religion, be against the Interest of the People, they ought not to assume the whole Power of Religion to themselves, unless you can prove, as I think you can't, that such an Assumption is no Deviation from Religion; Besides, if it must be a never failing Reason, that the Laity should not corrupt it, because 'twas design'd for the Good of Human Societies, why should not the Clergy have an equal Claim to that Reason: For I believe it will upon due Examination be found, that they also are a Human Society? If the Clergy have gotten so much Power and Riches by Religion and its Corruptions, why should not the People follow the same trade, when it has been found so thriving a one by Experience, for they understand the Art of getting as well as the Clergy? Then I would fain know how 'tis possible for the Clergy to corrupt Religion, unless they be first provided with Power and Riches

Chap. VI. for such an Undertaking: And why should they corrupt Religion in order to get Power and Riches, if they have 'em already? Besides, if Corruptions are unavoidable, those of the Clergy must needs be most tolerable, since the State may and ought to interpose and prevent them; but who shall obviate the Corruptions of the People? Who shall withstand *Noise and Number*? He that can, is a Match for a *Tempest*, and may march out manfully against a *Whirlwind*.

P. But observe, *Tim*, the People, which are the *whole Body*, can have no separate Interest or sinister End: but the Clergy, who are a *Part* of the *Whole*, may: which makes *Parliaments* much better Judges of Religion, than *Convocations*.

T. Now all this, if rightly enquir'd into, depends upon certain infallible Axioms and Principles, which at *first hearing*, all Lovers of Truth and Ingenuity, must of course assent to: *First*, That all Parliaments are chosen by a Majority of the People of all sorts. *Secondly*, That 'tis impossible they should be of a different Opinion, or a separate Interest from those they represent. *Thirdly*, That supposing an Assembly of Men does not understand such or such a Religious Scheme, yet they can never be mistaken in it. *Fourthly*, That where Church and State are united, the *Parliament* shall be the *Whole*, and the *Convocation* only a *Part*, and yet the one not included in the other. *Fifthly*, That if the full Power of the Clergy were confer'd upon the *Knights, Citizens and Burgeses*, and they consequently made *Clergymen*, yet they would be

the best Judges of Religion, because Clergy- Chap. VI.
men are not so. *Sixthly* and *Lastly*, That Re-
ligion must needs be corrupted by the *Convo-*
cation, but not by the *Parliament*, because the
first has apparently so much more power than
the other. O *Euclid*! *Euclid*! Why are thy
Writings *Apocryphal*, and thy Book excluded
the *Canon*. Surely without *Conjuring*, might
the *Serjeant* answer the *Lady*, that *Demon-*
stration came from *Demon* the Father of
Lies.

* See The
Recruiting
Officer.

P. But then, *Tim*! every Man's Knowledge
of Religion, is in some cases easier than the
Priests: for Ignorance does not so much hin-
der the *Layman*, as Faction does the *Eccle-*
siastick.

T. That is, the *Priest* is sure to be factious
and craving, he can't help it: but the *Mob*
never are so nor can be so, poor Souls! Be-
sides, *Faction* hinders Knowledge, more by
half than *Ignorance* does: and, Why? Be-
cause if a Man be *factious*, 'tis impossible he
should know any thing, and yet *Faction* pro-
ceeds from *Freedom*, and *Freedom* is the Mo-
ther of *Light*; but a Man may be utterly
Ignorant, and yet for all that, be very *skilful*
in the matter: O *Flayle* of *Sense*, and *Battoon*
of *Brightness*! Even against your self have
you given Sentence in the Doctrine of *Popula-*
cy and *Levelling*, since you have a just Title
to be *absolute* o'er all the *Realms of Non-*
sense.

* See Dry-
den's *Mac*
Fleerno.

P. Don't be scurrilous, *Tim*, but if thou
hast a Mind to see the Conduct of the Clergy,
look to their *Councils* and *Convocation*, when
they are met together in *Bodies*, where Shame

Chap. VI. and Modesty lose their Force, and their Interest becomes Diametrically opposite to that of the People: and yet even here, they have sometimes absolv'd those very People from all Allegiance, and let 'em loose upon their Sovereigns.

T. Now I thought, that Men had least Modesty and Shame in a Corner, and that Assemblies and Meetings were certain and sure Obligations to all *Forms* and *Decorums*; However that be, is it otherwise in *Parliaments*, for they are Assemblies too, as well as the other? And why must the *Convocation* run counter to the Interest of the People, more than the Commons? May not these abuse their Trust, and advance their Power as well as the Clergy? Or are the People very nearly concern'd in *Schisms* and *Heresies*, and not at all in *Taxes* and *Payments*? and if the People were ever let loose upon their Kings by the Clergy, is this one of your proofs that 'tis impossible, those very People who are thus willing to Rebel, should ever corrupt Religion? Or will it be the best way, think you, to tye 'em up again, by letting 'um know, that they make their Sovereigns, and may Judge and Depose 'um, when they please? What you mean by *Letting loose*, and *Tying up*, I know not: but I could tell a way to tye you up to some purpose, and the People never the worse for't.

P. With what face, *Tim*, can'st thou justify the scandalous Disorders of *Fathers* and *Councils*?

T. This is to satisfy you, Sir, that I undertake no such thing; There have been scandalous

lous Synods, and Turbulent Councils, and Fasti- Chap. VI.
ous Convocations: but may we not have those
that are not so? Has there not been as our
Chronicles tell us, a Mad Parliament, a
Wicked Parliament, and a Parliament of
Fools? Shall this be a Reason for Dissolving
The two Houses, and putting an End to the Con-
stitution?

P. Can'st thou tell us then, of what Neces-
sity Synods are, and how we shall get a good
One?

T. Why, if leave be given, I can say a lit-
tle somewhat upon both those Heads.

P. I suppose hardly Worth the hearing,
however for once, I'll be *Passive*, to please
thee.

T. That Synods were customary in the A-
postles Time, is plain from several Instances;
Particularly, from the Account we have of Acts 15,
the Synod of Jerusalem, whose Authority you
have already acknowledged: And withal, there
are very shrewd Arguments of the Use of 'em,
even from some Words of our Saviour, and
Passages of his Life: His frequent Mention of
his gathering together the Apostles and Seven-
ty, seems to imply an Assembly of this Na-
ture, for 'tis plain he made use of the Temple
only, as a Place of Publick Worship: Then,
those Words, *Where two or three are gathered* Mat. 18.
together, &c. compared with that other Text, 20.

If two of you shall agree, &c. seems to im- Mat. 18.
port a Synodical Meeting for the Rule and 19.
Good Order of the Church, and not barely for
Prayer and Publick Worship: For Christ, having
so often engag'd to be Present with all those,
even Private Persons, that pray'd to him in
Secret,

Chap. VI. *Secret*, the Presence of God to all such being believ'd by all Mankind, and a Part of Natural Religion, there had been no Reason to add, that where more than one were engag'd on the same Duty, they should have equal Encouragement, since Prayer rather gains than loses any thing of its Energy by being *Publick*: So that the Meeting or Assembly, here mention'd, seems to be of another Sort, that is, for settling the State and Polity of the Church. Another Instance is that remarkable Place, ^a *Tell it unto the Church*, &c. Where *our Saviour* directs the Issue of all Controversies amongst *his Disciples*, and how Injuries ought to be redrest: That is, by resort to *the Church*: By which if we do not understand a certain Determinate Assembly of Persons empowr'd to end such Controversies, the Directions must be very wild and to no Purpose; Besides, the *Twelve Apostles* being by him Intrusted with Ecclesiastical Government, and there being no Superiority or Preeminence given to one more than another, as it cannot be thought unlawful, even from the Common Rules of Conduct and Prudence, for these to meet together to debate concerning the Good of the Church, so 'tis plain when they did meet 'twas a Compleat Synod after a Parliamentary Form, it being an Assembly of Men all Equal among themselves; And that there was frequent Occasion of their Meeting, and that they did so meet, is not only Matter of Fact: But this, if no other, would be the Reason of it, Because *our Saviour* had never establish'd the External Order and Discipline of his Church, but left that to the Care and Direction of it's Governors. If we pass from the
the

the Gospels to the remaining Parts of Scri- Chap. VI.
 pture, we may there find many Instances to the
 same purpose; the ¹ Assembly, that met together ¹ I Cor. 4.
 in Order to Excommunicate the *Incestuous Corinthian*,
 was no doubt a *Judicial Synod*, and the
 frequent Mention of ^{*} Elders and *Presbyters* ^{*} Acts 11.
 met together in Colleges and Bodies subordi- 26.
 nate to Bishops, for the Good Rule as well as ³ John 10.
 Instruction of the Church, certainly implies a ^{Rom. 16.}
 Joint Power in them, to act Authoritatively for ^{1.}
 those Ends. Those *General Apostolical Canons*, ^{Revel. 1.}
 relating to Order and Decency in the Christian ^{11.}
 Worship, would be utterly vain and Insignifi- ¹ I Cor.
 cant, if they were not to receive a Special De- ^{13.}
 termination from Persons duely appointed ¹ Thes. 5.
 thereto; And if we are assur'd from Scripture,
 that ^m Scripture it self is not of any Private ^m 2 Pet. 1,
 Interpretation, this leads us of Course to some 20.
Publick Form of Church Government, for a
 Right Information in all our Doubts and Mat-
 ters of Controversy. Now this being the
 Sense of *Scripture*, before the Church was uni-
 ted to the State, must show that *Ecclesiastical*
Synods, according to the Primitive Divine Con-
 stitution, were Distinct from the Civil Power,
 and vastly different from Assemblies purely
 Political.

P. Go on! Go on! *Tim*, thou art one of
 the pretty'st Imps the *Party* ever Spawn'd.

T. Besides these from Scripture, there are
 other Arguments for Synods and Councils,
 which even *Reason* may Suggest to us: For all
 States and Bodies Politick, whether in the
 Hands of a *Single Person*, or under a *Mixt*
 Form, whether Supream or Subordinate, do
 yet hold it absolutely Necessary to have Coun-
 cils

Chap. VI.



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* Ephes. 4.

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* Psal. 29.

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1 Cor. 16.

29.

cils and Conventions of Men learned in Political Affairs, either to manage the Whole of themselves, or to direct their Sovereign in all Publick Emergencies; So that, this Power belongs to the Church, upon the bare Consideration of it's being a *Society*; Besides this, there is the Universal Consent of all States and Governments, there being none so Barbarous and unpolish'd, but what allows of Assemblies of this Nature; Add to this, that whatever Authority there may be in the Laws made by a *Single Person*, yet Canons and the Laws of the Church, whose design is to Convince as well as Command, must be recommended to the Subject by Reason as well as Authority: And therefore are more Proper to be transacted in Assemblies and Conventions than by a Single Person. Then the Nature of Unity, and that not only in *Faith*, and the Worship of the same God, but even in the External Modes of Religion, signify'd to us by the *Beauty of Holiness*, and Unity of Baptism, which is the Initiatory Sacrament of all Church-Communion, does Necessarily require an establish'd Form, at least not alterable but by Authority: And this is by the very Nature of the Church, lodg'd in the Hands of many. Nor does the Power of Synods stand confirm'd by Reason and Scripture only, but by Antiquity and the Particular Customs of the Christian Church ever since it's first Foundation; to go about to prove this, were to transcribe whole Libraries, and he that Questions it, may as well Question the best Civil Histories Extant, or doubt whether there be any such Places in the World, as *Rome*, and *Constantinople*. Indeed, the

the Constitution of the *Three Estates* has by Chap. VI
 some been ascrib'd to the Invention of the
Goths and Vandals, but Church Parliaments
 were long before that, and never ceas'd nor
 abolish'd even under the most Despotick Go-
 vernment. After *Scripture, Reason, and An-
 tiquity*, I beg leave to do you the Honour of
 the next Evidence: And I can assure you 'tis
 no small Favour, since I fancy you are very fel-
 dom us'd to such Good Company.

*p Sir Willi-
 am Temples
 account of
 Holland.*

P. Me, Tim? Did'st thou ever hear me
 Justifie the Authority of *Synods*.

T. In your *Introduction*, you are pleas'd to
 say, that where the Magistrate has not Inter-
 pos'd, 'tis Lawful for Men to Form themselves
 into what Clubs or Societies they think fit for Plea-
 sure or Business, and the Magistrate is not to
 Suppress them, unless they prove prejudicial,
 to the Publick Good: Now Synods, we say,
 are not thus Prejudicial, but on the Contrary,
 very Useful and Beneficial: And since you
 don't know, but they are design'd for Pleasure or
 Business, they are certainly Legal and War-
 rantable. In the next place, you urge, that
 it is impossible the Church should Subsist with-
 out 'um, for the Church being to be chang'd
 and alter'd according to Circumstances, and not
 under a Certain and indispensable Set of Laws
 and Canons, therefore for the New Modelling
 of such Laws and Canons, as the Variety of
 Circumstances shall require, 'tis Necessary that
 Church Governors should have a Power of
 Meeting and Assembling together as often as
 there is Occasion. Lastly, the Power of the
 Church being, according to you, Originally
 in the People, and their Numbers in an Eccle-
 siastical

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fiastical Sense obliging them to act by Representation as well as in a *Civil*, Therefore 'tis highly Requisite, that Bishops, Priests, &c. as their Representatives, should frequently meet in Synods, and act in a Parliamentary Way, that being the only Proper Form under a Popular Constitution. Thus you see, *Phil*, how apparently you are found out, and that according to the usual fate of Great Talkers, you do now and then say a good thing without Malice and Premeditation: Or perhaps your Wit, like Mr. Dryden's, is *very nearly ally'd to Madness*, and you are got into a Course of *Close Banter*, and do not know it.

P. Well, but now, *Tim*, thou ha'st got these People together, They'll be sure to wrangle and quarrel, to Damn all Mankind, and one Another: Corrupt, and Debase, and Contradict the Scriptures, and very often themselves, and perhaps go together by the Ears, as was done at the *Second Synod of Ephesus*, where *Dioscorus* cuff'd and kick'd *Flavianus*, that he dy'd in three Days.

T. If he did, I'll Swear he came to Life again and was sent into Banishment, for I have some few unlucky Historians by me, every whit as good as yours, nay, even your own

* Institut. li. 4. ca. 9. Sect. 13. *Calvin*, that are positively of that Opinion; And yet, all's Right: For in Death, you know, Banishment is included of Course; In the mean Time, why, I beseech you, must these Reverend Folks be all so very Mad, Quarrelsome, and Unlucky, upon their coming together.

P. I can tell no Reason for't, but only that it has been so formerly.

T. Now

T. Now that to me is a Reason, why it should be so no more: Since a due Consideration of Past Miscarriages, is, with most Boys that are tolerable, a very good Argument of Amendment for the Future; *Our Saviour* very well knew, the Ill Management of all those Councils, which had Corrupted the Jewish Church for many Ages down to his Time, and of which Corruptions the Prophets give us such a Melancholy account; Nay, he was himself Persecuted and Condemn'd by one of 'em, yet he was far from abolishing that sort of Church Government, but expressly establish'd it under the Gospel, and therefore *Calvin*, notoriously blames that violent Opinion of *Gregory Nazianzene*, which you so much insist on; when the Father resolves, to appear in no more Councils, because he had never yet seen a good one.

Chap. VI.
Instit. I.
4. cap. 9.
Sect. 11.

P. Well then, *Tim*, since thou art upon the Reforming Strain, Prithee let's hear thy Projects and Proposals.

T. Look ye, *Phil*, I tell you before Hand, my Judgment is only *Whim*, and I don't pretend so much as to submit it to the Wisdom of my Betters, nor yet do I undertake to advise 'em, especially not your Way, that is, in the Spirit of Humility: Only, it seems, Castles in the Air being very fashionable, I am resolv'd not to be out of the Mode.

P. No more Ceremony, but prithee to the Business, *Tim*.

T. Before I proceed, I must give Notice, that I am here speaking of a General Council, Synod, or Assembly of many Churches, and not of a National Convocation, which must be manag'd according to Custom and Precedent and

Chap. VI. and the Rights of a Private Church; this pre-
 ~~~~~ mis'd: In the *first* Place, say I, for the resto-  
 ring Ecclesiastical Synods to their Proper End  
 and Primitive Purity, it is highly Necessary,  
 that they should be conven'd *in Christ's Name*:  
 By which, I suppose, it is not mean't, that  
 his Name should be set to the Proclamation,  
 or fix'd over the Door to scare Hereticks: But  
 by his Name is signify'd his Authority, which,  
 as it Impowers the Governors of the Church  
 to assemble, so it is an Inducement to the Se-  
 cular Powers, to encourage and Protect all such  
 Assemblies: Because under them, and in Sub-  
 mission to their Prerogative, all Church Mat-  
 ters are to be transacted; And besides this, the  
 Name of *Christ*, is of the same Force here, as  
 in our Prayers: It imports a Relyance on him  
 for the Directions of the *Holy Spirit*, and is al-  
 so as a Vow or a Bond upon every ones Soul,  
 to do in every thing according to his Will and  
 Pleasure. *2dly*, It is highly requisite, that Sy-  
 nods be then summoned, when the Govern-  
 ment of the Church is in the Hands of such  
 Men, whose Renown for Piety and Integrity  
 may give Credit to their Decrees, whose Wis-  
 dom and Knowledge may be powerful for the  
 Establishment of Truth, and whose Tempo-  
 ral Circumstances may set 'um above the In-  
 fluence of any Secular Byass, or the Sollicita-  
 tions of Worldly Interest. *3dly*, 'Tis also ve-  
 ry expedient, that none of the Governors of  
 the Church, that is, no Bishops be excluded,  
 of what Party soever: That there be no  
 Maiming, no culling of Councils, and that  
 Truth may be establish'd as well by the De-  
 crees of the Orthodox, as by the Confutation  
 of

of those that are Erroneous; Now 'tis evident, that these Rules were notoriously violated in the *Popish* Synods; Instead of Summoning them in the Name of *Christ*, they met in the Name of his pretended *Vicegerent*; Instead of the Directions of the *Holy Spirit*, they were alltogether in Expectation of a *Fair Wind*, or a Mail from *Avignon* or *Ravenna*; Instead of the Sanctions of a Religious Vow and Engagement to the Will of *Christ*, they had already provided their Consciences with the stronger Tyes of Promises and Engagements to a *Legat* or *Secretary*, and were under strict Allegiance to *Infallibility*; There being no greater *Banter* in the World, then their pretending to search for Truth at *Trent* or *Ariminum*, when they were verily persuaded, she was all the while Nodding in *St. Peter's* Chair, at least a Hundred Miles off; Then, 'twas usual to have no Bishops summon'd, but such as were already in the Secret, and had *Ignorance* enough to let a *Jesuite* Impose upon 'em, or were so very Poor as to be bully'd by a *Nuntio*, or to be brib'd with a Sett of such *Canons*, as would get 'em Custom for Holy Toys and Trinkets, and Butter and Fish against *Lent*.

P. Oh brave *Tim*! Why thou talkst now a little like a Christian.

T. In the next place, I would have no Mixture of Orders in a General Council: Bishops are the Rulers of the Church: and tho' the Greatness of their Station and Seclusion from Parochial Business, may render 'em in some Cases unacquainted with the Church's Affairs, and the State of the Inferior Clergy, for which Reason it would be highly Necessary  
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Chap. VI.




they should advise with their *Presbyters* in all Ecclesiastical Matters, yet the *Ruling* Part should still belong to the Mitre; And here again, the *Popish* Synods fail'd, for their admitting *Jesuites*, and *Abbats*, and Clergy not Episcopal, occasion'd Infinite Strife and Wrangling about the Several Rights and Powers of their Separate Orders, and is one main Reason why the Jurisdiction of Bishops is so much confounded and blended with other Ecclesiastical Offices in the *Romish* Church; There were two unavoidable Ill Consequences of this Method, for either the Inferior Clergy carry'd it so servilely to their Superiors, as by base compliances to Fish for Preferment: or else where they had Power, and were well back'd, so very haughtily, that it became Necessary to stop their Mouths, and to win 'um off with Bishopricks, that they might henceforth learn to have a greater Esteem for that Function.

P. Good agen, *Tim*! There's Hopes of thee now.

T. It is also very convenient, that in every *Synod*, no Bishop pretend to more power than another, except what belongs to a *Chairman* or *President*; as this would restore the Successors of the *Apastles* to that Mutual Parity, which at first belong'd to the twelve, so it excludes all *Popes* and divine Deputies and Vicegerents, that shall presume to Govern and direct, as God himself does, at a Distance; and withal it leaves the Matter in some degree to the Umpirage of Heaven, and Shuts out the Pretensions of a Predominant Party: for the Usual Complaint against some ancient Councils is, that at *Constance*, *Trent*, *Ariminum*, such



such and such evil Men, as *Dioseorus* or a *Lai-  
nez* presided, and not the Holy Ghost. It  
were also to be wish'd, that the Business to be  
transacted in Ecclesiastical Synods, should be  
prepared aforehand, and made Publick: for  
the bare assembling of men together only on  
a General account, to treat of the State of the  
Church, leaves every one to his Projects and  
Schemes of *Reformation*, according as he is  
dispos'd to think either well or ill of the Pre-  
sent Condition of Affairs; Neither do I think  
it much amiss, that all Synods should have  
their due bounds, and Proper Matter to pro-  
ceed upon; and the Scripture being the Law  
of the Church, the great End of *Synods* is to  
*Interpret* that Law, especially such parts of it  
as by the Inspir'd Writers seem to be left to  
the Special Determination of Succeeding Go-  
vernors, and such as have been apply'd by He-  
reticks to a wrong use, and made pretences  
for disturbing the Quiet of the Church; but  
the Penalties of Heresy, and all things belong-  
ing to the external beauty and Decorum of Re-  
ligion, must be intirely Submitted to the Wis-  
dom and Conduct of the State; And that no  
Scripture may be wrested to an Ill Sense, 'tis  
highly necessary that Debates be free, and all  
Opposition and Arguments of the Adversary,  
should be Calmly heard and Debated: and  
that no Sentence be pronounc'd, nor Articles  
establish'd, without a full Account of the Ar-  
guments from *Scripture*, and the Sence of *An-  
tiquity* on that Head, and the Reasons why the  
*Synod* has thought fit to make such or such a De-  
termination; If any thing be transacted contrary  
to these Rules, the Secular Powers should in-

Chap. VI.  terpose their Authority, and regulate all such Disorders. The *Popish* Synods are extreemly Deficient in this Particular; 'tis very seldom that they mention *Scripture*, or *Reason*, at least not the brightest and clearest Parts, but are altogether Positive and Assuming, as if New *Scriptures* and fresh *Gospels* were to be made, and they Intrusted with the Work; Those that offer to oppose their Sentiments, or to Contend on the other Side, are quell'd at once with *Noise* and *Anathema's*; Instead of Arguments and Persuasions, their Stile is, *Damnamus, Jubemus, & Volumus*, as if they were all *Seigniors* and *Sophies*; When any thing is settled in Favour of the Clergy, whereby their Revenues are advanc'd, or their Power increas'd, and their Courts enlarg'd in their Jurisdictions; it comes not to the State for Confirmation, but Kings and Princes are requir'd to see the Sentence of the Church, ratify'd, on pain of losing both their Crowns, the *Eternal* as well as *Temporal*. In truth, *Phil.* there is scarce any of the Synods so much complain'd of, and with which you are so very Free, but what fail'd in some one or other of these Qualifications; and as these in all Probability being so well observ'd in those Councils, that are of any repute, were the Reason, why they are still in Credit amongst us: so, tho' I cannot say, that this Method would produce an *Infallible* Council, or a *Synod* without Spot, or Blemish, or any such thing: yet I believe, 'twould render all Assemblies of this Nature, as near Perfection as might reasonably be expected.

P. Well, *Tim*, now thou hast settl'd Preliminaries

minaries and a Method of Proceeding, what will all this come to, if thou can'st not say that a Council assembled under the best Qualifications that can be Devis'd, is certainly *Infallible*, and has the *Holy Ghost* presiding among 'um?

T. Why must that Follow? The *Holy Ghost* may preside amongst 'um, and they not *Infallible* for all that.

P. How? *Tim.* have a Care what you say.

T. Hang it, 'tis a bold *Pamphelteering* Age, and I'll try to give a Reason for't; The *Prophets*, *Apostles*, and *Writers* of the *Holy Bible*, were certainly *divinely Inspir'd*, and had the *Influence* of the *Holy Ghost* directing them, and yet we find 'um charg'd with *Murder*, *Adultery*, *Contention*, and *Apostacy*; Now I have heard Great Men say, that the Reason of all this is, that the *Holy Ghost* does sometimes leave the best of Men to themselves, and gives 'um Intervals of Frailty, to convince 'um, how weak they are, and how necessary 'tis to depend intirely on one above 'um; Agreeably to this, even the *Papists* in their *Synods*, when they pretend to call down the *Holy Ghost* to their Assistance, do for all that, leave *Infallibility* behind 'um at *Rome*.

P. I am very glad, thou can'st not undertake for *Synods*, but that they may err; I am sure they doe err, and their frequent Errors ought very much to lessen their Authority.

T. Lookye, *Phil*, if *Synods* were *Infallible* they would be apparently *Divine*, and then there could be no more Dispute about their Authority; Besides, I don't pretend to give Authority to anything in Nature, no not to the



least Christian Soul of a *Sexton* or *Bell-ringer*, only I went and projected, and cast about, and try'd to set up something or another, *May-pole* or *Madmallation*, no matter what, in the Room of that which you had design'd, and all on purpose to oblige you, because I was sure your *Castles* were all *Charm* and *Delusion*, and your *Convocations* little better than *Revels* and *Morrice-Dances*.

P. Why so, *Tim*!

T. Because I fancy, a *Convocation* of the People, or a *Parish Synod*, for that's your *Catholick Council*, is much such another *Whimsical Assembly*; and this will appear pretty plain, if we have recourse to Instances and examples, for that's your way of arguing on the Case; Now in the late Times, the People had the whole Church to themselves, and *Synods* they had of all Sorts, for the settling of Religion, such as it was: The *Spirit* and the *Light* they were as sure of, as of that which fir'd their *Tobacco*, but 'twas such a *Light*, God wot, as *shone in Darkeness*, and had better have been *under a Bushel*, that no Body might have been misled by it; As for Authority, all they had was by the *Blunderbuss* and *Bandeleeer*, and the Word of Command, *Give Fire*! Was admitted as the Canonical Interpretation of *Excommunicamus* & *Anathematizamus*; If there were now and then a *Bloody Nose* heretofore upon the Account of Religion, or here and there a *Bonfire* in *Smithfield*, this was nothing to a Whole Nation in Flames; So that if ever Men were really eaten up with *Zeal*, or ever Contended earnestly for the Faith, these certainly were the Saints; If Councils have of old Con-

tradicted

tradicted each other, these outstript 'um by a Chap. VI.  
 League and three Quarters: They damn'd and  
 sav'd all Mankind, and themselves together,  
 at least every fortnight: They that were upper-  
 most, were always in the *Right*, and as Great  
*Reprobates*, when they *fell*, and then the Rest  
 took their turns to be *Saints* in their stead; so  
 that what with *Damning* and *Dragooning*, and  
*Cursing* and *Canting*, it came to that pass at  
 last, that some very shrew'd Men thought it  
 no small degree of Modesty, among so many  
 bad ones, to be of no Religion at all. If the  
 Popish Synods were any way Sawcy with the  
 State, these were ten thousand times worse;  
 If they depos'd a Monarch, these went far-  
 ther: for there's a vast Difference between an  
*Ax* and an *Anathema*; 'Tis seldom a good  
 King has suffer'd by the Usurpations of the  
 Church, but these cut off a Head, upon which  
 a Legion of Pamphlets have ever since try'd to  
 fix one Crime, to no purpose; They first *rod*  
*his Crown down to the Ground*, and then lay'd *his*  
*Honour in the Dust*; They first represented the  
*Royal Hunter*, as a *Monster in Fable*, and then  
 the *Kennel* of his own *Bloodhounds* chac'd and tore  
 him to Pieces in *Reality*; Here now is Ortho-  
 doxy, *Phil*, here now is a *Popular Church*, a  
 Church truly levell'd even to the Earth; And  
 not only examples, but *reason*, will convince  
 us it must be so in a *Popular Form*; for the se-  
 parating a few Particular Men for the Mini-  
 stry, is a Notion as universal as that of Religi-  
 on; this was the Way both in the *Old World*  
 and in the *New*, and therefore whenever  
 Church Power is thrown to the People to  
 Scramble for, 'twill be Impossible to keep some

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of their busiest Blades from continually erecting it into a *Monopoly*; Besides, the Duties of Religion are in many Cases so Opposite to worldly Interest, which yet is the Darling of the *Mob*, that they'll be sure to vote 'um away first, as useless and against Christian Freedom; And where Men judge for themselves, they are alway so very prone to be *Impartial*: And the Multitude, the Rabble, the Many, are all in such good Plight as to Wealth and Estates, having no use for Knavery, and withal so very Constant, and Unanimous, as not to be shaken in their Principles, and then so very knowing and wise, as not to be mistaken, That I wonder some Project or another has not e'er this been set on foot, for compleating the *Communion of Saints*, and bringing in this *fulness of the Gentiles*.

P. Prithee, *Tim*, by whom was the *Reformation* brought about here in *England*, was it by the Clergy, or by the People, and their Representatives? I am afraid to the Scandal of the Church, 'twill be found, that our present Constitution is intirely owing to a Lay Parliament.

T. Why by the People and their Representatives is well enough said, for the Clergy are the Representatives of the People in Matters Ecclesiastical; besides, I would fain know how the *Reformation* should have been brought about otherwise; Indeed the Scandal that from thence accrues to the Clergy, is, to my seeming, altogether unavoidable: at least, there was but one way to avoid it, and that, I fancy, you will by no means allow of; For if *Cranmer* and *Ridley*, and that Gang, instead of



of consulting Scripture and Antiquity, and confuting *Bonner* and *Gardner* with *Bibles* and *Aristotles*, had fairly met together in *St. Stephen's Chappel*, and only enter'd down their Arguments in Form, thus :

**R E S O L V' D**, That 'tis the Opinion of this House, that the Papal Supreamacy is contrary to the Fundamental Laws of this Realm, an High breach of Privilege of Parliament, against the Peace of our Sovereign Lady the *Queen*, Her Crown and Dignity.

**R E S O L V' D**, That it is the Opinion of this House, that *Transubstantiation* is against Liberty and Property, highly tending to the Decay of Trade, and prejudicial to the *Customs* and *Wine-Licence*.

**R E S O L V' D**, That it is the Opinion of this Committee, that the erecting of a New Prison commonly call'd, *Purgatory*, is Illegal, Arbitrary, and Tyrannical, and does manifestly tend to the Ruin of the *Fleet*, *Queen's-bench*, and *Gate-house*,

And hereupon have order'd a *Bill* or *Bills* to have been brought in accordingly.

This, no doubt, would have effectually obviated all manner of Scandal on the account of a *Lay-Reformation* ; but then the Clergy would perhaps have assum'd more Power in this case, than will stand with your good Grace, and Wisdom to allow them : and besides, 'tis e-

Shap. VI. *Stablishting a Church by Law*, which is another thing that you can't away with: and truly, since 'tis establish'd by a Law, I had much rather, that should be a *Lay Law*, than a *Canon*, and that because I had much rather the *Lay* should fall under your Displeasure than the *Clergy*, since they can best tell how to be even with you.

P. But then, *Tim*, consider by what ways and means the *Reformation* was brought about: by suppressing Abbies and Monasteries, and cramping the Clergy in their Riches and Power.

T. Nay, *Phil*, if you have a Mind to talk like a *Tory* as you are, and to scandalize the *Reformation*, besides the Abbies and Monasteries, you may, if you please, reckon *Old Harry's Trowzes*, *Anne of Bullen's Petty-coat*, and *Cardinal Campejus's Marrow-bones*: For I can assure you, they contributed to the *Reformation*, as much as the Suppression of Abbies and Monasteries. For alack-a-day, so it is, that Religion does by no means infer either Lands or Tenements, or has any Dependence thereupon: and the *First* coming of our *Saviour* does not, like his *Last*, make any Alteration in Pasture or Arable: and therefore when Lands are seiz'd, and *Ejectments* issu'd from the *Queen's-Bench*, tho' the *Defendant* should plead Religion, and urge a *Text of Scripture* for part of his *Title*, every one knows, if there were no other valuable Consideration, that would hardly pay *Costs* and *Charges*: Now, that the Dissolution of Monasteries did contribute very little to the *Reformation*, is, I think, pretty plain from  
this

this reason, because *Papery* was again restor'd, Chap. VI. and that too of the worst sort, notwithstanding that Dissolution; and yet, how can it chuse, but be as you say: for as long as Abbies and Monasteries stood, *Transubstantiation* was certainly according to Scripture, and the *Worship of Angels*, a Sound and Orthodox Doctrine: And withal, it must needs be a very moderate Method, and also very far from the *Spirit of Persecution*, and highly conducing to the good of Mens Souls, to take away their Estates for the Reformation of their Manners, because this infallibly strikes at the *Root of all Evil*; However, with Thanks we must acknowledge It, the Times are quite alter'd, and that too for the better: the *Reformation of Manners* goes on most hopefully, and that Estate, which in the Days of good King Harry, made a shift to maintain a large Monastery Kitchen, and here and there a clean *Bed-Maker* for the *Monks*, or a *Jolly Confessor* for the *Sisters*, when Conscience, which is free, you know, was of Opinion that all this was *Venial*, will now under a Lay Improvement, keep the Noble *Squire* in much more Splendor than it did his *Ecclesiastical Land-Lords*: he shall have his Brace of Whores, Leash of Hunters, a Pack of Fox-dogs: Mountains of Beef, and Rivers of Stale Drink; And what Reason can we give for these strange Alterations? not the want of good Will in Monks and Fryars, to live ev'ry whit as well as their Lay-Tenants, but only the cheapness of Commodities, increase of Trade, Plenty and abundance of all things: Oaths and Curses, being now no forfeit of Freehold, but only at



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a moderate Price of Twelve Pence apiece, and he that gets drunk with *Five Hundred a-year* Church-lands in his Possession, may defie the Constable: if he can but keep one remove off from Lunacy and Idiotism he's safe enough, for he's sure no one is to be *reform'd* as you would have the Clergy, By being *Bully'd* or *Begg'd* for their Estates.

P. Then I suppose you think 'twas Sacrilege to deprive the Abbies and Monasteries of their Wealth, and that they who inherit that Wealth, are guilty of the same Crime?

T. Now, I think, *Phil*, there's no great reason to insist upon Sacrilege; If it were only Injustice, I suppose that's bad enough in all Conscience; All I wish is, that in the Suppression of Church Lands, there had been some Difference made, and some Consideration in the Disposal; As for the Abbies and Monasteries, I don't much pitty 'um, because I see no reason, why a Man had not much better leave an Estate to his Son and Heir, upon Condition that he read Prayers Twice a day in his Family, relieve the Poor, and perform other Household Duties, to which every private Man has as good a title as a *Patriarch*, than to a Nest of Lazy Monks and Fryars, only because they can perform the Business a little more solemnly perhaps, by consecrating the *little Parlour*, or putting the *Cook* into *Deacon's Orders*; and therefore, say I, e'en let 'um go *down*: The Gospel has nothing to say for 'um, provided the Law will allow it; But then so it happen'd, that the Revenues of the Parochial Clergy, who are necessary to the Being of a Church, and of Publick bene-

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fit in a Nation, those went away in the hurry as well as the other : Whereas, I would by all Means have continu'd their Dues : for if the Divine Right of *Tenths* be a Reason, why every thing exceeding that Moyetie should be as much subject to *Resumptions*, as any Lay Estates whatever : it ought equally to hold good against falling below a *Tenth*, and giving no more for the Gospel, than the *Turks* do for a *Romance*, or the *Jews* for an *obsolete Almanack* : This, methinks, is a little below the Market ; for suppose the Gospel does leave it intirely to the State, to make a fair Bargain with the Church, which may be justly pleaded to any Action of Sacrilege, that may possibly be brought against the Laity, yet both *Queen, Lords, and Commons*, by their Pious Endeavours for an Augmentation, do unanimously shew, that in their Judgment the present Settlement is too little : and then, all who oppose their Sentiments, shall be *Jacks, Torys, and Tantivy-men*, by the same Rule that you make all those to be *Protestants*, who do in the least dissent from *Poper*y.

P. Then, it seems, you are for Pampering and Dieting the Clergy, and making 'um all as rich and powerful as *Popes*.

T. Not in the least, *Phil* : I must confess I would have the honest Men live, and subsist amongst us in some comfortable way or other, but by no means to be Rich : for there are Three or Four such terrible Arguments towards the latter End of this *Chapter* in favour of Poverty, that for my part, I can't but wonder, why e'er this, the Clergy did not unanimously Petition the Government, to resume

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sume all their Lands and Benefices, and only give 'um a Pair of good Travelling Shooes, which you seem willing enough to allow them, together with a Spiritual *Rout*, and a *License* to Hawk and Peddle with; This, instead of Reforming us, would in a little time, and much Contrary to your Expectation, bring in the Independent Power again as it did heretofore, and we should soon hear of Pardons and Indulgences added to the *London Crys*, and as common as *Milk* and *Mackerel*.

P. Now I fancy, instead of that, it would be with us, as with the Primitive Christians, when the Clergy subsisted upon the *Alms* of the People: then Religion was purest, and most uncorrupted.

T. But now methinks, 'tis a little untoward for you, to call that *Alms*, which the Apostle  
 † 1 Cor. 9. proves to be a 'fair Bargain; Does the Farmer  
 11. take *Alms* for his Corn? or does his Wife take *Charity-Money* for Eggs and Butter? But thus it is, when good Goods are undervalued: *It is Naught, It is Naught, saith the Buyer, but when he is gone, then he boasteth*; Besides, is it not strange, that you should so very vigorously assert the Divine Right of Poverty, and yet vindicate the Primitive Form of *Voluntary Contributions*: since 'tis well known, the Clergy were never richer than in those Days, and therefore the Divine Right of Tythes is really a Favour to the Subject: had this been settled in the Apostles time, there had been no need, of 'selling all, and laying all at the Apostles Feet; and the Bishops, their Successors, were as well fed, and pamper'd, as any that came after them: the Christians never thinking they

† Acts 4.  
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they had enough; Nay, when they had parted with Houses, and Money, and Land, they were for giving them their very "Eyes and "Gal. 4. Hearts, and loving them at that intolerable Rate, that you would have imagin'd they had all read *Cyrus* and *Cassandra*: so that upon the Church's being united to the State, Statutes of *Mortmain*, and the Low Church Doctrine of a *Tenth* were absolutely necessary, for fear the People should give *Fifteenths* and *Twentieths*, and perhaps make the Church sole Heir and Executor: and who but a Tory would plead for restoring this Custom, when as you elsewhere observe, *the Dairy will part with any thing for the purchase of those Blessings, which the Clergy have in their keeping*; This Method of settling Payments, appears highly necessary in the Affairs of State, For the *House of Commons* had, I believe, much rather agree to *Four Shillings* in the Pound, nay, *Five or Six*, than to *One Act of Benevolence*, a *Loun*, or a *Free Gift*: For when we are stinted, then we know what is expected from us, and what we are to pay: but should a *Voluntary Contribution* come out, we are all such *Loyalists*, such *Hearts of Gold*, and so terribly for *Queen Anne*, that I dare swear, and I speak for my self and my Playfellows, we would all pawn our *Grammars* and *Almanacks*, but the *French King* should certainly go down next Summer. There is a *Widow*, that stands register'd in the Renowned \* *Baker*, who for a *Kiss* gave King \* See the *Edward* Twenty Pounds on the score of Bene- Chronicle *volence*, but she had no occasion to have been in his Life. half so Generous, upon a *Land-Tax* or a *Poll*.

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*P.* But don't you see, that the Clergy, by being rich, grow to be intolerably Proud, Malicious, Envious, and Turbulent.

*T.* Now I should fancy, their being poor would be far the best reason for their being *Turbulent*: He that's preferr'd and got into a good Living, has no reason to boast of his Parts, or to overvalue his Function: He's well paid for't, and his Market is over: He may very easily afford to be Humble, since 'tis become his Choice, and he may make a Figure with his Vertue; But Humility is the same with Necessity in a poor Divine, For he can't help it: Such a one has reason to set forth his Worth, and to insist more than ordinarily on his Authority, that he may be better provided for, and esteem'd according to his Value. As for *Malice* and *Envy*, there's no room for them under a *Treble Chin*, and a *Circingle* that girts *Six foot*: these are the constant Perquisites of *Ten Pound* a year and a Dilapidated Vicaridge; a Mortal in such a State, must needs repine at the good Fortune of his illiterate Neighbour, who yet can afford to kill a Pig at *Christmas*; and the Spleen, as Genteel a Distemper as it is, much certainly come thick upon him, when he turns off his Eyes from *Deuteronomy* or *Leviticus*, where he has Beef, and Lamb, and Veal in abundance, to behold the Gentle Kine grazing under his Garret Window, without daring to indulge the agreeable Ideas of *Meat-Offerings* and *Drink-Offerings*. And then as to *Oppression* and *Wrong*: God and the *Queen* be thanked, the longest Purse shall not always make the best Title: but what shall he do, that has but a bare

bare Natural Subsistence? He's indeed pretty Chap. VI.  
 well secur'd from wronging others, unless he  
 makes use of some of your Rights of Nature:  
 but what if others wrong him? If such a one  
 has the leanest Pig impos'd on him, or is de-  
 frauded in his Tale of Eggs and Apples, he  
 has no recourse but to the Prophet *Micah*, at  
 least in no Case, where his Title is question'd,  
 For 'tis a shame to sue as a *Pauper*, and he's  
 pretty well secur'd from suing *En Fee*: A  
 Personal Advantage shall bribe him to rob the  
 Succession of its Rights, and the Wretch that  
 comes after, will find no *Text* truer than that,  
 which says, *From him that hath little, even that  
 which he hath shall be taken away.* But for *Faction*  
 and *Heresy*, what occasion has any one for  
 'um, in a spacious Fortune; and an Inheritance  
 of Many Acres? 'Tis not for *Knights* and  
*Squires* to think of *Levelling*: What have  
 they to do to be concern'd in a Riot? Can it be  
 for their Interest to pull up Stiles, and demo-  
 lish Sash-Windows? But 'tis quite otherwise,  
 where a great Spirit is penn'd in a narrow  
 Fortune: there, it must needs Sweat, and  
 Chaff, and endeavour to get room; 'Tis the  
 Interest of the Poor to see all things thrown  
 to common, and to set the World together by  
 the Ears, that they may share in the Scram-  
 ble; No body talks of Alterations, but they  
 that want 'um; A great Soul struggling in a  
 narrow Body, Hunches out the Sides, wan-  
 ders in the Limbs, and makes a *Man* a *Mon-*  
*ster*; and the same Course is taken in the Ge-  
 neration of a *Rebel*. He is the Excrescence of  
 Poverty, or in the Apostle's terms, *the super-*  
*fluity of Naughtiness*; and therefore it seems



Chap. VI. to me as a very exalted Piece of Mortification in a poor Clergyman, to abstain from Heresy. I wonder, how he can afford to be Orthodox; If his Soul does but surmount his Curacy, it must infallibly ferment and boil over; For *Heresy, Faction and Turbulency* are the very same in Natural Philosophy, with *Elasticity* and the *Fuga Vacui*.

P. And yet you see, the *Albigenses*, *Waldenses*, and People of *Lyons*, amidst their Poverty, preserv'd Religion in its greatest Purity.

T. That may be, for you must know People are always extraordinary Pure, when they are rising to Preferment; If you see a Man washing his Hands, Ten to one but 'tis in order to fill his Belly; not but that a Man may be poor and really honest still; and so were the *Waldenses* and *Albigenses*, for all that I can tell: I have nothing to do with them or their Purity: I'm sure *Agur's* Prayer against Poverty as well as *Riches*, is still Orthodox and Canonical: tho', if as you say, Moral Duties are to be dispens'd with, according to present Circumstances, they need not have such terrible Notions of *Plunder* and *Petty Larceny*; and therefore it must be ever gratefully acknowledg'd, that you have so well provided for the poor Clergy in their Distress, since, if they do now and then Milk their Neighbours Red Cow into the Canonical Castor, or take here and there a Lamb of the Flock, it brings no Scandal on their own Sheep's Cloathing, nor is there any great Harm done, because you and your *Tory* Predecessor *Harry* the 8th, have graciously exempted 'um from *First Ernits* and *Ecstasy*.

T. Do

P. Do but consider, *Tim*, what was *Wickliff's* and *Luther's* way: They disclaim'd all Interest before they undertook to Reform. Chap. VI.

T. Now for my part, if I must not be allow'd to make an Interest of Religion, I had as lief turn *Rosy Crucian* and believe in the *Philosopher's Stone*; 'Tis true a Man may in Words disclaim all Interest, but who'll take him in the Rigorous Sense? If he's Complaisant, and Easy, then he designs to wheedle and get in that way; If he's obstinate and Contradictory, then he intends to Bully and be bought off; Whether you are for the Right Side or against it, they'll be sure to upbraid you with your own first Principle, *Selfishness*; *Luther*, we are told, wanted a Wife; tho' that, one would think, should be but a Scurvy Reason for turning Protestant, when a *Punk* and an *Absolution* might have serv'd his turn as well; *Wickliff*, they say, had a mind to a Bishoprick; now if Folks will be spiteful, and say thus much, 'tis absolutely impossible to disprove them; I'm sure had *Luther* and *Wickliffe*, instead of Proofs and Arguments, only produc'd the Resignation of their Benefices, and shoke out their Pockets fairly and chearfully, abandoning every Heretical *Tester* that hung about 'um, I believe their Cause would have been never the better barely for being in *Formâ Pauperis*; For if by your own Argument, *burning at a Stake* won't make a *Martyr*, Why should *starving* make a *Saint*? and yet he that dies in Battle, one would think, should not be excluded the *Church triumphant*: but surely, he who parts with his Pay and his Commission, is not therefore,

Chap. VI. a Jot the better Member of the Church Militant.

P. Prithee, *Tim*, what is it that you exclaim against the Pope for, but only his External Greatness, Pomp, Power, and Riches?

T. So far from that, that 'tis for his Power and his Riches that he is admir'd, has Embassadors, Presents, and Compliments sent him, and is courted by all the Contending Parties in *Europe*; Besides, *Phil*, there may be an Excess of Greatness; and God forbid all our *Parsons* should be *Popes*; but then, 'tis not Wealth alone that makes a *Pope*: if that were all his Fault, there's many a Protestant would be glad to be of his Religion; No, *Phil*, give me *Infallibility* and *Pardons*, and I'll be as great as *Gregory*, and as good as *Innocent*: but these I perceive are no Crimes with you, since you only declare against Pumps and Vanities; However, I'd have you to know, had the *Bishop* of *Rome* taken some of our *Low-Church* Measures, he had been Orthodox still: had he contented himself with a *stinted Revenue*, and such *Independent Powers* as the Gospel allows him, all had been well: but instead of that, he was for *begging Pence* for *St. Peter*, and wheedling *Legacies* and *Presentations*: so that 'tis plain he rose by your *High-Church* Doctrines of *Dependence*, *Benevolence*, and *Beggery*.

P. After thou hast thus complemented the Clergy, *Tim*, with Riches and Power, I question not, but thou wilt also equip 'em with *Philosophy*, *University Learning*, and *School Divinity*, that they may be thoroughly furnish'd to enslave the People.

T. That



T. That indeed would be a little too bold Chap. VI. and presuming : for after so many extraordinary Commendations of Ignorance and Stupidity in this Chapter, confirm'd and ratify'd by many *Practical Discourses* throughout the rest of the Book : how shall any Reader, that is tolerably gentle and tractible, have the least charitable Opinion for the future of common Sense and Understanding? What will become of the *Fathers*, the Orators, the Poets, and the *Logick Men*, I cannot certainly tell ; Right heartily sorry am I, that the *building of Paul's* should ruin the *Church-yard*, and that in a little time, the Tobacconists, Potheccaries, Hatters, and Trunkmakers, should devour the Stationers, Printers, and Booksellers ; I am sure when I heard you now and then quoting an *Author*, with the Title of the *Learned*, the *Profound*, or the *Judicious* : when you ridicul'd our *Northern Brethren* for Superstition and Ignorance, and made very little difference between that and *Popery* and *Fanaticism*, I began to have hopes of you, and had like to have wish'd you Joy of your *Recovery* : but now to see you *Relapse* again, must needs occasion no small sorrow, and to hear you extol Stupidity and Dulness, What can it signify, but only an Excess of your own first Principle, *Selfishness*? or else, you intend to get all the younger Brothers expell'd the *University*, and that none shall Commence but only *Squires*, *Punsters*, and the *Legitimate Natives* of the *Corporation* : and by this cunning Devise, when you have brought all Mankind to be *very great Fools*, 'tis possible you may pass amongst 'um for a *very small Wit*.

P. I bar Banter and Reflection, *Tim*: but prithee examine my Arguments Impartially.

T. Nay, *Phil*, your Arguments must certainly be very foolish, or else they'll prove against themselves, since their design is to promote Ignorance and Stupidity.

P. Was not the *Reformation*, *Tim*, brought about at a Time, when the Reputation of the Clergy for Learning and Sense, was at a very low Pitch?

T. But was it brought about by such sort of Men? Was *Cranmer* a Coxcomb; *Ridly* an Ass, and are *Harding*, and *Fisher*, and *Parsons*, Fellows of Sense in Comparison to *Land*, *Jewel*, and *Potter*? Or was the *Reformation* a Piece of Nonsense? And the Protestant Religion arrant Folly and Banter? Or is all the Sense of our present Church merely Lay and Secular, and it's arguments against *Papery* to be seen in the *Records* of the *Tower*, and in the *Journals* of the *House of Commons*? If the Clergy were at that time particularly Dull and Heavy, and therefore wanted to be reform'd, is Ignorance for that Reason a Vertue? Is it not rather one of those very Faults, that were corrected by the *Reformation*? Or if as you are pleas'd to Quote the *Royal Injunctions* to the *Then Bishops*, it were complain'd of, that *Children and such as could not read were made Priests*: and if they were to read for the Future in such a Manner, as that the People might receive Instruction thereby, Must not this needs shew that even in those Days Learning and Sense were in some small Credit? Whereas had you been to have injoin'd those Bishops, you would have taken Care for the Sake of *Reformation*,

matron, that all their Clergy should have been as Stupid as Batts, and he that could not read his *Neck-verse*, should have taken Place of the Ordinary; And just after the same manner, you endeavour to prove, how highly the Indiscretion of the Clergy conduc'd to the Reformation; and why? Because Q. Elizabeth Injoins 'um not to take a Wife without the Consent of her Friends, or the Master and Mistress where she Serves: it being to be suppos'd, that the Stealing an *Abigail*, and running away with a *Cook-maid*, is the very Prime adventure of Priestcraft, and the Perfection of all Ecclesiastical Policy; Had Her Majesty, from a due Consideration of the Unfortunate Loves of her *Amorous Taylor*, imagin'd, that it could not possibly be otherwise, but that the best Fortunes of the Kingdom, must needs be charm'd with every thing, that was truly Canonical, the *Free Air* of a College, the *Genius* of a Buttery, an *Humble Vicaridge*, *Tatter'd Crape*, and *Aristotle's Masterpeice*: Infomuch, that Her Majesty, whilst such Gallants were abroad, should scarce think her *Young Circle* safe, or keep her *Maids of Honour* to her self: and thereupon had Interpos'd with her Royal Authority against all Gallantries Ecclesiastical: this had been Proof against the Power and Sense of the Clergy: and then the Queen need- ed only to have injoin'd 'um Penance for Life, with a *Chamber-maid*, or *Butter-wench*, to have taken 'um off from all their Pride at once, and given 'um an *Humiliation*, worse a great deal than that of her Father *Harry* before her; In- stead of this, the Queens Injunctions are really intended to keep up the Grandeur of the Gown,



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and preserve it from being expos'd and scandaliz'd; After such a Noble Performance in the Way of Reasoning as this was, no wonder you charge our *Reformers* with slighting the *Universities*, and Converting the *Publick-Schools* into *Garden Plots*: and *Garden Plots* they would be still, did not such *Weeds* as you Spoil the *Metaphor*: Whereas the main Reason, why the *Universities* were at that time neglected, was, not because Ignorance grew to be in Vogue, and *Protestant Stupidity* was coming into Fashion, but because the frequent Changes in Religion that then happen'd, tend'd much to the Decay of those Seminaries: There being a New Church for every *Degree*, and he that was a *Papish Batchelor*, must Dispute himself into Protestantism, in order to go out *Master of Arts*, and then argue himself back again into *Popery*, before he commenc'd *Doctor*; Would *Aristotle*, think you, allow of this? or is it the Will and Pleasure of the *Ten Predicaments*, that it should be so? Besides, we must Consider, that the Revenues of the *Universities*, were at that time as unsettled as Religion, and till after the *Reformation*, very slender and Precarious: and therefore 'twas high time to bespeak the Honest *Carrier*, when they were *Scone's* and *Cross'd* by the Government: for there's no living upon *Logick*, or Clubbing with *Duns Scotus*: the subtlest Disputant of 'um all, is now and then reduc'd to the Gross Absurdity of a *Two Penny-Commons*, and the *Materia Secunda* of a *Beef-Stake*.

P. Religion, *Tim*, is short, plain, and easy, and must needs be Purest in the Hands of Lay-men, who have Callings to Mind, and whose

whose Affairs won't permit 'um to Study the Chap. VI.  
Corrupting and Perplexing Christianity.

T. I grant you, *Phil*, Religion is very easy and plain, that is, where People will Condescend to be directed: but if they venture rashly upon their own Judgments, Nothing is more hard and difficult; we all agree in the Necessity of Charity, Temperance, Justice, and other obvious Duties: but then, how far a Man may go, and save his Conscience, is a Nice Matter to determine: the Road is so Narrow, and there are so many other Paths by it, which seemingly lead the same way, that the Choice is *almost accidental*; 'Tis as hard to know ones self in a *Moral* Sense, as in a *Mechanical*; The *Scripture* it self gives us an Instance of a Whole Church, and that a Primitive one too, which was utterly at a Loss, to discern between *Nakedness* and *Finery*, *Poverty* and *Riches*, *Light* and *Darkness*; In short, leave a Man to himself, and he can satisfy his Conscience in the Greatest Errors, or Scruple the most plain and Positive Duties; But supposing Religion were never so easy, yet the World is full of Quarrelsome *Fanatics*, sly *Jesuits*, *Disputers*, *Scepticks*, and *Men of Demonstration*, that would soon Wheedle us out of the whole *Decalogue*, had we not here and there one in *Holy Orders*, that can handle the *Quadrant*, *Compasses*, and *Ten Predicaments*, as well as the Best; Besides, whatever Advantages you can Suppose the Laity may have by being Diverted by their Trades and Business, I can assure you the Clergy have just the same, Nay, a great Many more: for a *Teaching Taylor* or a *Spiritual Shoemaker* has, besides his *Evangeli- cal*

See Revel.  
c. 3.

*gettick Trade*, a very commendable Craft for his Subſiſtence: but what ſhall many of the Clergy, do, that have no ſuch Skill in Mechanics? Small Benefices, Large Families, Taxes, Dilapidations, Bad Times, Little Children, Large Daughters, Milk-ſcores, Pythe-ſtealing, and Charity, are all certainly buſineſs enough for one Man; Such a Large Dealer as this, muſt doubtleſs be Diverted from Corrupting Religion by Hard Study, the *Poors Rate*, the Butcher's Bill, and the *Brief* in the Cloſet Window, will keep out all Hereties from the *Desk*, and let the *Fathers* and *Schoolmen* lye Lovingly by each other; Withal, you muſt Conſider, there are very few of your *Lay-Undertakers* that ſet up for Divinity, but preſently Drop the *Handycraft*: at leaſt they never mind it to any Purpoſe, only now and then the *Apron* goes on in Imitation of St. Paul, who 'tis well known, was a *Tentmaker*, after the ſame manner that *Prince Rupert* was a *Blackſmith*, or elſe 'tis to keep his Hand in uſe, for fear his Doctrine ſhould fail; Thus, in a very little time the *Conventicle* Swallows the *Shop*, and the *Preacher* Spoils the *Tradesman*; Then withal, it muſt be remember'd, that your Lay Preachers are as well ſet for Corruption as their Neighbours, and can by no means, be brought to own themſelves right Orthodox *Dunces* and *Blockheads*; They ſet up for as much Learning and Divinity as the Beſt, only they get it a Different Way, and it works accordingly: other Men are forc'd to Pump hard for their Senſe, and then what they have they Shew fairly to the Company: it conſiſts of Vowels and Syllables, and if need be, they Can



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Can let it go upon Record: but the *Fanatick's* rowls Smoothly off the Tongue, and is chiefly *Musical*, and that partly *Vocal* and partly *Instrumental*, being a *Consort* of the *Lungs*, the *Nose*, the *Pulpit-Cushion*, and *Sounding Board*, and because it comes from the *Spirit*, thither, if occasion be, the *Author* refers his *Auditors*; 'Tis true indeed, his *Gall* bursts now and then, and Stains a little fair Paper: but there is another Sort whose Demonstration lyes in their small Gutts, the outward Evidence is *Foam*, and *Noise*, but there's no Comprehending them, unless you hit the same *Notes* exactly. In short, *Phil*, both Lay and Ecclesiastical, we are all *Conjurers*, and would fain be thought so. 'Tis true indeed, the *Last* sort I mention'd, come the Nearest to that Orthodox Christian Stupidity, which you seem to require in a *Preacher*, but then their *Pretensions* run as High as any, and so very Curious are they after Carnal Learning, and the Philosophy of this World, that they are afraid of being *Damn'd* for *False English*.

P. After all thy Merry Touches upon Ignorance and Stupidity, they must certainly be preferable to that *Learned Cant* and *Gibberish*, usually taught in the Schools, made up of doubtful and Undefin'd Words, the Jargon of *Lombard* and *Scotus*, fit to defend the greatest Absurdities, design'd to puzzle and amuse the Minds of our Youth, and to make 'em Opinionative, Obstinate, and Contradictory.

T. Did I not tell you at first, *Phil*, that you were newly dropt into the *University* from *Morocco* or *Arabia*, and wholly unacquainted with our Ways; 'Tis true *Scotus* and *Lombard*, may be

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be seen in the *Bodleian* Library, but they are as Solitary as the other *Schoolmen* their Fellows, and as Dusty as a *Dutch* Commentator; Should you thunder out a Catalogue of the Old *Logicians* to our Young Students, Cry, *Occham! Derodon! Timpler! Charleton! Pontius! Arriga! Oviedo! Zabarell!* &c. they'd ask you, it may be, in what *Latitude*? Or whether or no they belong'd to the *Muscovite* Army? But then, *Newton, Hawley, Sanderson, Fell, Wallis, Gregory, and Rouhault*, are Names as well known, as *Jennys*, or the *Kings-head*: and for my part what you'd have more to polish us in the Way of *Logick*, and Natural Reason, I know not, unless you would have us dispute in *Blank Verse*, or take *degrees* in the *Racket Court*. As to our *Preachers*, what are the best beyond Sea compar'd with the Generality of those at Home? Where is *Albani, Marsiglio, and Anselm*? Can there be any thing Smoother than *Mosse* and *Stanhope*? Clearer than *Blackhall* and *Smallridge*? or Stronger than *Young* and *Atterbury*? Are there any Bears in *Tillotson*, or Wheelbarrows in *Sharp* and *Daws*? On the contrary, where such Divinity is, it may be justly thought a Shame that we have so much as one Reprobate left among us; And are not *Humanity, Rhetorick, Grammar*, and all the Politer Arts, as much requir'd to our Degrees as *Logick* and *Metaphysicks*? If indeed one or two of your Favourite Authors, are not so much in our good Graces, 'tis because we cannot think *Omnipotence* is made up of *Numbers*, and that the *Foundation* of our Faith is *Lewenhoke's Arithmetick* of *Infinities*: or that the Soul is originally without knowledge, tho' that be

be its *Essence*, and the only *Idea* we have of it; Chap. VI.  
 Neither will we Suffer an *Ordinary Architect* to make a New World for us, so long as there are *Master Builders*, *Masons*, and *Carpenters* to be had, and *Fellows* that understand *Parallels* and *Perpendiculars*: especially, since the Old one, God bethanked, is not yet quite worn out; Besides, we'll give you leave to Polish, provided You don't pull down: Disentangle *Do——* from his *Parentheses*, if you can: Disengage *No——s* from the Company of his *Fayries*, and deliver *Wh——n* from *Divine Demonstrations*: but 'tis one thing to mend, and another to marr, one thing to *Criticize*, and another to *Contradict*. For our Disputations, they are fair enough in all Conscience: 'tis a known Law amongst us, that every one explain his *Terms*: so that we deal in None that are Undefin'd; Besides, there are some Parts of Philosophy, which we learn, not to use 'um our Selves, but to find out those that do: and for that Reason, our Ancestors thought it Proper to oppose their *Materia* and *Forma*, *Species Intelligibiles*, *Occulta Qualitas*, *Materia Subtilis*, *Antiperistasis*, and *nec quid nec quale nec Quantum*, to the then fashionable Gibberish, *Saints——People of the Lord——the Lord's work——Light——Malignancy——Babylon——Popery——Antichrist——Preaching——Gospel——and Truth*; and the Same may be of use against those of a later Date, such as——*Nature——Rights——Church——Compact——Liberty——Conscience——Circumstance——and Convenience*: Terms, every whit as Odd and Barbarous as the Former, according to Modern Use and Application. In general, *Phil.*



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I take it, that Philosophy ought not always to Influence our Faith: Questionless, the *Resurrection* stands firm and fast, notwithstanding the way of Boarding among the *Anthropophagi*, and the New Devise for the *Transfusion* of *Blood*: and the *Trinity* may be credited without any Disparagement to *Wingate's Arithmetick*; So that, when you talk of Refining and Polishing, and Call *Lights! Lights!* I'd fain have you take your own advice, not deal in *Undesin'd Words*, but explain your *self* and your *Lights* clearly: for there are *Ignas fatui*, *Willywisses*, *Snap-Dragon*, and *Wild Fire*, besides *Links*, *Lanthorns*, and *Candles*, four and twenty to the Pound; for my Part, I think we humour you too much, and are more clear and refin'd, and fuller of Demonstration than we need to be: For so it is, when a *Young Divine* comes up at *St. Maries*, and preaches, we'll suppose, upon the Nature of *Temptation*: 'tis not enough, that he fairly tells the Company, what the *Scripture* says to the Point, and how far the Devil stands concern'd in the Business: but he must needs demonstrate the Way and Means he takes to bring it about, and then Whip to *Raye* or *Bonellus*, for a *Mathematical Scheme* of the Passions, with an *Anatomical Account*, how the *Animal Spirits* Post up and down through the Pores and Roads of the Nerves, from the Object to the Passion, and so back again with *Intelligence*: and then away to *Hobbs*, for a *Material Vehicle* to drive the Devil in, but tho' *Material*, yet so very *Subtle* and Curiously contriv'd, that it passes the Pores of our Bodies, and so, with a *Spiritual Blaze*, or the *Refin'd Fork* of

his

his Tail, he draws the Trigger of our Senses, Chap. VII  
 Springs the Mine of our Passions, blows up the Train of our Animal Spirits, and the Report is, Murder or Fornication; Here now you see the business effectually clear'd up, and Demonstrated: whilst your Numb and Black of a Lay Preacher, shall only cry, L—rd, L—rd, L—rd, Ch—t, Ch—t, Ch—t, G—d, G—d, G—d, and not a Penny to pay for Swearing: and this must pass for Demonstration, and outdo Euclid, without ever so much as Marking the Several Lords with = † by Way of Distinction, or even the least mention of A B C; so that, if my advice were worth any thing, had they really a Mind to be Clear, Easy, and Intelligible, let 'um repair to that very Scores and Lombard you so much vilify, and chuse their Terms, and make their Applications accordingly: for Instance, Originaliter, Anglice, Popery: fundamentaliter, vide Rump: formaliter, quasi, Bagpipes: Antiperistasis, id est, Faction: Causa sine qua non, that is to say, Occasional Conformity; and this Philosophy being, as you say, design'd to defend the greatest Absurdities, considering your Circumstances, I cannot but recommend it also to you more especially, and before all the Rest of my Acquaintance.

P. Who but the Clergy, Tim, were they that first cry'd down Human Learning, and forbad the reading of Heathen Authors? so that, 'twas said of St. Jerom, that he was whipt with Rods by an Angel, for reading Cicero.

T. Now the Lord save you, and keep you sound! Didn't you very lately exclaim against Human Learning, and against the Mischiefs  
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Chap. VI. and Corruptions it had introduc'd? and that there was no need of it on a Religious Account, the Gospel being so easy and plain, and so hard to be misunderstood, notwithstanding so many pregnant Instances to the contrary, and yet, to see the strange Vicissitude of Things, Learning is once more come about again, and has recover'd your good Word, nay, and *Heathen* Learning too, tho' I really fancy to my self, that they who read *Heathen* Authors, do it in a great Measure for the sake of their *Heathen* Reasons and Arguments, all which you have expressly forbidden in your *Fourth Chapter*: So that, for my part, you talk so much in favour of good Sense in one *Chapter*, and so much in favour of Ignorance in another, that I know not how you would have us behave our selves, unless we must do as they do in *Greenland*, be very clear and lightsome one Half of the year, and altogether as dark and dull the other. What *Spirit* that was, which whipt St. *Jerom* with Rods for reading *Cicero*, I know not: sure I am, 'twas neither the Ghost of *Gill* nor *Busby*: and we cannot but wish that *Westminster* or *Winchester* had been visited by some such reforming *Spirit*, who being a *Spirit*, must certainly handle a *Material* Bundle of *Birch* very gently: for *there*, to our Sorrow, we were often us'd to the same Discipline, for just the contrary Crime: The *Spiritual Flogger* in those Regions, being of a very different Humour from St. *Jerom*'s, and lash'd us most *Carnally*, not only for not reading *Cicero*, but for not reading *Virgil*, and *Horace*, and *Cesar*, and I know not how many *Romish*, *Popish*, *Heathenish*,



thenish, *High-Church* Rascals besides; And in Chap. VI. such a very flourishing Estate, is Classical Learning at present, in our Schools and Universities: That you shall have a Lord make no Conscience of forgetting the *Ten Commandments*, and learning the *Ten Eclogues* in their stead: so that in a little time, he shall be able to *Gapp Verses* with a Cardinal; You may talk of *Operas* and *Lampoons*, of *Wit* and *Will's Coffee-house*, Gallantry and the *Groom-Porters*: but with us, you shall have *Knights* and *Squires*, and *Elder Brothers*, the future hopes of the Shire, Senate, Cellar, and Dog-kennel, give more to be thought Poets and Classicks, tho' only by *Proxy*, than a Lord can afford to give for being a *real* Patron: and think it more Honour to subscribe their Names to a few *Stanzas*, handsomely extracted out of the *Gradus*, than to have 'em inscrib'd to the deepest Tragedy, or a *Poetical Campaign*; Nay, 'tis our Humour to quarrel as much about the various Readings of *Horace* and *Virgil*, as about the *Alexandrian* and *Roman* Manuscript: and the Authority of a *Classical Tyrant* is as much insisted on, as the *Canon* of the *Epistle* to the *Hebrews*; And can you after all, offer to say, that we neglect all ancient Learning? have we for this spoil'd so many hopeful young Men, by making 'um Editors, Chronologers, Note-mongers, Etymologists, and Linguists? have we quoted *Lost Chapters*, on purpose to retrieve 'um, and glean'd together all the Fragments of Antiquity? have we scower'd up so many Mystical *Icons*, and imperfect Inscriptions, where, *Deest Manuscript—Desiderantur cetera—* &c, . . . . shall stand for Tropes and Figures,

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and Flowers of Rhetorick? Have we undertook to *construe* Authors by *Mathematicks*, and to *Demonstrate Arabick* into *Latin*? Have we shewn our Parts and our Loyalty in so many curious Collections of Verses, upon all Occasions, where *Corruptible* Poetry makes *Incorruptible* Heroes, to have at last our Affection for Ancient and Classical Learning call'd in question? Or have we endeavour'd to keep all this to our selves? are we not as communicative as a *Gazetteer*, or a *Clark* in the *Secretaries* Office? as appears plainly, from the great Multitude of *Translations*, which sometimes exceeds even the Number of *Originals*; If the *Duke of Marlborough* beats the *French* at *Ramilly*, whip out comes *Caesar*, to convince him of *Foxing*, and to shew the World whence he took the Hint: If the Age be inclin'd to *Atheism* and *Debauchery*, then *Lucretius* starts forth, to take down the *Bellas Esprits* of *St. James* and *Covent-Garden* from the Credit of the Invention; If you talk of *Godol*—, *Pem*—, *Pete*—, *Sam*—, *Hale*—, presently *Solon*, *Lycurgus*, *Atticus*, *Aristides*, and *Epaminondas* are rous'd from the Dead, to stare 'um in the Face, and shew 'em every one his *Genius* and *Similitude*; Little did the Ancient Poets think, how near they came to Prophecy in that memorable Invocation, *Centum Ora & Linguas*—and that in this translating Age the Prediction was to be fulfill'd; and no doubt but in a little time, we shall be able to reconcile the *Seven Cities* of *Greece*: they shall every one have a *Homer* to themselves, provided they'll be contented with such as is given 'um.

P. But

P. But prithee, *Tim*, how is it you deal with *Aristotle*? I think you pay a blind Submission to his Opinions; you know the *Cardinal*, that said, *without his Help, we should have wanted many Articles of Faith.*

T. Why really, *Phil.* we may very well be at a loss how to deal with him, since you are so very uncertain in your Instructions: For sometimes you prove, that the Ancients very wisely forbid the Reading of him, and after this, that he was in so much vogue, that 'twas Heresy to contradict him; and doubtless this *Ebbing and Flowing* of your Judgment, puzzles us almost as bad, as the *Flux and Reflux* of the Tide did our *Master*; Now I can assure you we moderate Men deal very indifferently by him, he gets to the *Out-side* of our Heads at the Creation of a *Senior Soph*, but generally speaking no farther; 'Tis true they toss him to the young Men to play with, but he makes no manner of *Figure* in the *Divinity School*: nay, you shall have him sometimes very violently contradicted at *St. Mary's*: and *Newton*, and *Halley*, make nothing to hold against him without fear of *Expulsion*; But then at *London*, he's most terribly set by: It being very plain, that *Comard* and *Asgil* both suffer'd for their opposing *Aristotle*; Nay, 'tis very seldom that a Rogue appears at the *Old Bayly*, but for Heresy against the *Ten Predicaments*, as explain'd by some of *Aristotle's* choicest *Morals*; and for preventing such horrid *Persecutions*, we could wish the *Lord Mayor*, had the sense to discover, what you seem to give a Hint of, that the *Aristotelian* Philosophy is condemn'd by *St. Paul*: for I do



Chr. p. VI. not yet find, that any of our Commentators have agreed about the Apostle's Meaning herein, whether it be design'd against *Solid Orbs*, or *occult Qualities*; sure I am, that the Writings of that *Saint*, do in most places, smell very rank of the *Aristotelian* way of arguing; and as little as you like it, I wish heartily I could say the same of yours; and therefore you had small reason to quote a *Cardinal* so very particularly, because he had said, *that without Aristotle, we should have wanted many Articles of Faith*, since the rest of Mankind as well as *Cardinals*, may easily say the very same thing of *Lily* and *Robinson*, nay, they may readily venture to have as good an Opinion of the *Accidence* and *Spelling-Book*.

P. No matter, *Tim*, how it succeeds with the young Scholar: if he takes a Distast to Learning, and turns Debauchee, the Clergy care not, so long as their Ends are answer'd and their Party promoted.

T. Ah, *Phil*, I told you before, your Arguments would never do me any Service in the Business of *Scorning* and *Crossing*; If the *Universities* design'd to encourage *Debauchery*, why are those persecuting Methods still kept up there? If these be Encouragements, would you had your Belly full of 'um! No, *Phil*, the Fault is that you spoil at *London*, what we at *Oxford* had made pretty tolerable: and I see not which way we can prevent it, unless you'll allow the Clergy, as you know they are very craving, to widen their Dominions, and that the *Proctors* should visit the *Devil-Tavern*, as well as the *Three Tuns*, *Cross* Names at *Pontack's* and the *Rummer*, Take *Six* and *Eight*

*Pence for a Fullbottom Wigg, and Forty Shillings* Chap. VI.  
for Occasional Conformity.

P. I desire not to be acquainted with your Management, *Tim*, I'm sure the Clergy get to be so Learned, that no Oath can hold 'um: for you shall have a Preacher in the Prayer before his Sermon, proclaim the *Queen Supreme Head and Governor of the Church*, and yet in his Sermon, shall place the Whole of Church-Government in his own *Tribe*.

T. Prithee, *Phil*, deal Impartially: Let the Oaths by all means hold the Clergy, but why should they hold 'em faster than other Folks. You may hear a Judge, a Justice, a Knight, a Citizen, a Burgess, or a Mayor, swear to the Supremacy as heartily, as he that does it for a *Deanry*, and yet when 'tis over, tho' they had own'd the *Queen* to be *Supreme* next under God in the State, they shall go and tell you, or which is as bad you'll tell them, that she is *accountable* perhaps, and it may be that she may be *depos'd*: but to be sure they'll plead strongly for Liberty and Property, and a few Independent Rights, that are exempt from her Jurisdiction: Nay, it's possible they may go to Law with her, and sue her in her own Courts. Now 'tis methinks a little hard, that you won't allow the Clergy their *Quota of Independents* as well as the Laity: and whereis some of 'um poor Men may swear for a Benefice, and on purpose to get it: will it not be Inhuman and Uncharitable, to tell all such, that by the very Oath by which they thought to thrive, they have sworn away all their Preferment.

P. I'm sure, *Tim*, they must have strange Evasions to elude their taking the Oaths in the

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*Late* Reign, when just before they preach'd up Slavery.

T. Why so? Is the *New Oath* an *Abjuration* of Obedience? or if you say the Clergy have nothing to do with Secular Power, may they not reply, and bid you do as you please then, they'll still be Obedient? Besides, you take a rare way to put down the Poor Clergy, and to exalt the *Fanaticks*, by allowing them only the Benefit of Better Information: whereas I thought that Edifying Advice of yours, *viz. To alter and vary according to Circumstances*, had been directed to the whole Church, Clergy, Laity and Dissenters, without any Exception:

P. Then have they not evaded that plain Moral Duty, *Do as thou wouldst be done by*: Denying others the Liberty of their own Judgments, which they would think it hard themselves to be depriv'd of.

T. But did you ever hear the Clergy say, that if they were in the Laity's room, they'd hearken to ne'er a Parson in Christendom? Or the *Judge of Assize*, that if he were in the Prisoner's stead, he would not suffer himself to be hang'd like a Dog? this indeed had been a Violation of that Rule, which is founded upon the Supposition of some fixt Law, and can never be observ'd where every one is left to his own Notions; Charity obliges us to believe, that if the Clergy were to become Laymen, they would obey their Church-Governors: and therefore by this very Rule, they may, as they are Clergymen reasonably expect the like Obedience from the People; but as you put the Case, the Rule may be re-  
mov'd



mov'd to *Turkey* or *Tartary*, and would there serve to depose the *Cham*, or *Grand Seignior*, or to give the Great *Mogul*, to his Bears.

P. Didn't I tell thee, *Tim*, thou would'st elude this plain easy Rule?

T. Ay, but are not you a fine Fellow, and a pretty Whipster in Controversy? For here you go and write a *Book*, and cram together a parcel of good, plain, easy, and intelligible Rules, which you apply to wrong Purposes, and pervert 'em all that ever you can; and for fear any Body should answer you, it is given out, that these Rules will be eluded and perverted by others: Whereas, that's only calling *Where first*: for you have don't already; and because these Rules are to be found in your *Book*, no matter how you apply 'em, therefore he that writes against you, must be suppos'd to write against them: and then you set him forth as an Enemy to *Morality*, *Religion*, and *Common Sense*; so that, when you say these Rules are eluded, I suppose your meaning is that your *Applications* are eluded, your Arguments perverted, and in short, that you are Beaten and Baffled, and quite put out of Countenance; But your way of *Barring* all *Elusion* beforehand, is exactly *Calvin's Trick*: who having settled the *Contents* of his *Institutions*, not doubting, as you do, but that they would be eluded and perverted, that is, answer'd and reply'd to. He adds—*Hac omnia perspicue*, &c. That is, I have so learnedly and solidly manag'd the Controversy, that the Reader, need not have any Scruples, or read any other Book but mine: and as for any Adversary that shall presume to object

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any thing, he may set his Heart at rest, for I shall look upon all that he says, as Elusion and Sophistry.

P. If thou wilt return to the general Argument, thou wilt find the Riches and Power and Wisdom of every Nation fail or increase, in proportion to the Power of the Clergy; Are not People more Ignorant in Spain or Portugal, than in Venice, or lately in France? and does not France decay in Proportion to the Increase of Priestcraft.

T. For my part, Phil, I have no leasure to weigh Kingdoms, or to settle other Folks Dominions for 'um: I have more Business on my Hands than that comes to; the Rises and Falls of a State depend upon such trifling Accidents, that 'tis hard sometimes to find 'um out, and as difficult, considering the narrowness of *Historical Faith*, to make People believe 'um; when Men are set upon tracing the Steps of Human Power, they are at their Liberty, from a Multitude of Fortuitous Causes, to assign what they please either for the Foundation or Downfal of a Kingdom, or for the making it happy or miserable, according as their Profession, Humour, or Party direct them; and therefore I like the Ingenuity of Sir William Temple: who in accounting for the rise of the *States General*, attributes it, just as the Philosophers do the *Formation of the Individuum*, to a *Cumulus Accidentium*. Let us suppose a Cook writing Receipts: either in his *Preface* or *Dedication*, he shall tell you, that the Decay of the Body Natural, and consequently of the Body Politick, is intirely owing to our going off from the *Soups* and

Sauces

Sauces of the Ancients; Ask the Physician, and he ascribes it to the Discontinuance of Cold Baths; Turn to the Clothier, and he tells you 'tis because of the decay of our Woollen Manufactures; the Observer fixes it upon the Custom-house: the Merchant on the want of Convoys: the Farmer on the Dog-Act: the Tory on the Toleration: the Puritan on the Two Play-houses: and the decay'd Lady on the Invention of short Aprons, and Furbieleans; And the same is the Case as to the Rise of Governments, or the flourishing Estate of any Nation; Sir Phil. Sydney says, 'twas the Opinion of his Jackey, that only Horsemanship could make a Man great, or a State happy; the Beau places it in Balls and Intreagues: the Alderman in Six per Cent. Close living, and Two Sermons a Sunday: the Squire in a good Cellar of Drink, and Beef in abundance; Another, he undertakes to make us great, by a Naval War: His Neighbour perhaps says, we shall never thrive, till Green-Houses come down, and Oaks and Elms are planted in their room: A Third pleads heartily in behalf of Water-gruel: I have known another as furious for raising the Credit of the Militia, and I remember, Mr. Lock insists upon laying aside Hats, Mantles, and Swadling Clouts; Now from all this 'tis plain, a Man of tolerable Skill and Reach in Politicks, can easily assign what Causes he pleases, whenever a State rises or falls: and therefore the Clergy may questionless be made to conduce as much to the first, as to the last; for instance, here you say, the reason why Spain and Portugal are so over-run with Ignorance and Superstition,



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tion, is because of the Power of the Clergy: Now another shall tell you, 'tis because of their Poverty and Barrenness; for the Clergy were most powerful there, when Spain was in it's greatest Splendour. As to the declining Condition of France, you are pleas'd to ascribe it to Priestcraft, and what will you say, if another Politician should averr 'tis owing to the Battles of *Hockstet*, *Ramelly*, and *Blaregnie*? May not every one have his Fancy? however, what remains of the Grandeur and Strength of that Kingdom, is, as the *Dutch* themselves acknowledge, intirely owing to that absolute Power, which you say the Clergy are so apt to Propagate. 'Tis true, *Sweden* and *Denmark* are not quite so Polite as *England*: Neither are they quite so warm: but can the Clergy help it? would you have 'em transport the *Northern Nations* o'er the *Baltick*, and place 'um a little more in the way of Commerce and Society? I'm sure in one part of your Book you give us an account of *Norcia*, a Town in *Italy*, which since their revolt from the Power of the Clergy, is become so very stupid, that the Mayor of the Town can neither Write nor Read.

<sup>2</sup> See the  
State of  
War for  
1708.

P. Prithce, *Tim*, what do'st thou think of *Holland*? there, by Sir William Temple's Observation, Religion does the least Harm, and the Clergy have the least Power in that Country, so that 'tis by this it flourishes and grows great.

T. When you tell me which of the Religions in *Holland* you mean, I'll make the best Enquiry I can into it's Behaviour and Conversation; But if you mean this of Religion in

in general, 'tis a high Reflection upon those Chap. VI  
our good Allies; for to say Religion does  
'um no Mischief, is the same, as to say, they  
have no Religion at all: For like Justice and  
Moderation, and other good things, it will  
be corrupted: and the best things when cor-  
rupted, always do the most Mischief; But  
could that *Heathen* State be restor'd, which  
you else where wish for, you would soon find  
a Country where Religion does less Mischief:  
Nay, even *there* perhaps, this Blessed State is  
intirely owing to the great Dependence of the  
*Inferior* Clergy on their *Bishops*.

P. Their Bishops, *Tim*? have the *Dutch* a-  
ny Bishops?

T. Undoubtedly they that govern the Cler-  
gy, present 'um with their Livings, find 'um  
in Texts, Canes, and *Shooe-Leather*, are com-  
pleat *Bishops*: since they have the Powers of *Bi-*  
*shops*, for Consecration you know, is a meer  
Trifle; Now let our Bishops have as much Po-  
wer as theirs, and you shall see Religion walk  
the Streets of *London*, as tame and as Civil, at  
at *Amsterdam* or *Utrecht*. In truth, *Phil*, you  
are fairly trapt, and let into the Secret: *Sir Wil-*  
*liam Temple's* a Great Wit and a good Joaker,  
when he meets with a Cully, he can put him  
off with a Bite and a Sham, in spite of his Five  
Senses: For 'tis but a few Pages distance from  
this very Quotation, where to encourage your  
own proper Manufacture, he proves Dulness  
and Stupidity to be as good as *Ten per Cent.* in  
the way of Business, and that Wit and Knave-  
ry are no better than Fools to 'um.

P. Look home, *Tim*, you'll find upon Com-  
parison, the *North* Parts of *Great Britain*  
more

Chap. VI. more Ignorant and Bigotted than the South;  
 and 'tis because they are more Priest-ridden.

T. Priest? Priest? 'Tis a Profane Heathenish Term, prithee change me the Term to, *Presbyter-ridden*; but all this while, the Fault is in the Soil, and 'twas so long before the Days of *John Knox*; However to satisfy you, that Poverty and Ignorance, once so much in your Favour, do not naturally follow from the Power of the Clergy: Look but into *Wales*, there you'll say the People are very far from being *Priest-ridden*, their Parsons all unanimously agreeing to go *afoot*: and unless they can cajole 'um into Slavery with the *Fiddle* or *Tabor*, they'll hardly harm 'um with their Divinity: and yet notwithstanding all this, the best *Cambrian Priestcraft* being scarce worth *Ten Pound a Year*, the People are so very Ignorant, that Christianity is News to 'um in Many Places: and so very lewd, that you may catch the Pox by Shaking a Wench by the Fingers.

P. Then I fancy, *Tim*, thou believ'st the Power of the Clergy never did any harm yet to a Government.

T. Not so, *Phil*, I know that the most harmless inconsiderable things in themselves, have sometimes done a great deal of Mischief to the World; and 'tis Strange to think, upon how trifling a Matter, the whole Fate of a Nation may very often depend; the braying of an *Ass*, the twisting of a *Cart-rope*, a *Horse-hair*, a few *Bullrushes*, an Elephants *Tooth*, a *Spiggot*, and a *Coachwheel*, have all in their turns Sav'd a Nation; and as Inconsiderable things will Serve to Imbroil and Ruin it;

Dr.



\* Dr. *Davenant* observes, that *France* was Involv'd in a long Civil War, only because its Monarch had not once wherewithal, to defray the Charges of an Ordinary Messenger; the Changing Pettycoat and Breeches, occasion'd the overthrow of the *Assyrian* Monarchy: and I question if the late *King of Spain's* Will, was made by *Portocarrero* without the help of an *Attorney*; Here in *England* a Bawdy *Exciseman*, an Honest *Miller*, and an Impudent *Cornet of Horse*, a *Black Box*, a *Dark Lanthorn*, and a *Warmingpan*, have at several times brought about Considerable *Revolutions*, and been as remarkable, as the *Ancile*, the *Palladium*, the *Trojan Horse*, the Oracle of *Delphos*, or *Ganders* of the *Capitol*; Now I will not Suppose any thing so very mean of the Clergy, as to think it Impossible they should ever do any Mischief, or imagine the State to be so very Arbitrary, as to believe they'll make 'um altogether so Inconsiderable: only I'll undertake in a fair *Historical* way, to make it appear, that it has been allways best for a Nation, when the Clergy were encourag'd: and that the most remarkable benefits that accrue to a State have been of their Procuring.

P. That I would fain See made out.

T. I need not tell you, how much Civil Affairs depend upon Religion: you have prov'd it at large, and so convincingly, that you scarce know 'um asunder: and this in General is a Reason, why they, upon whom we depend for the outward Exercise of Religion, ought to be highly respected and oblig'd; I shall not mention the Reasons for this, whether from *Scripture*, *Nature*, or the *Consent of Mankind*:

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*Mankind*: all which are as Numerous as they are Common and well-known: I shall chiefly Instance in those States, which you have try'd to make Examples to the Contrary; the *French King*, whether as a *Son* of the Church; or as you say a Follower of their Maxims, has certainly rais'd his Nation to that Grandeur, as to be a Match for the Arms of the better part of *Europe*; and 'tis remarkable that the *Bishops* of the *Empire* have made a greater Figure on the Account of their Ecclesiastical Power, than when the same Territories were in Civil Hands, and under a Lay Prince; the two great *Empires* of the *East*, and many Nations near them, follow'd the Ruins of the Primitive Church, as being depriv'd of so necessary a Support; What was *Spain*, almost within Memory, but the Terror of both Worlds, and the fairest Candidate for Universal Monarchy? And 'twas then the Ecclesiastical Power was at the Height, whereas now 'tis sunk and dwindl'd, and basely truckles to the Court of *Versailles*, and the *Tramontani* are become the Jest of the *Sorban*; What a Scene of Misery at this time is *Poland*, with it's Elective Form, and Pretended Liberty? And what are all the Petty Principalities, *Hans Towns*, *Cantons*, *Circles*, and *Republicks* of *Italy*, *Germany*, and the *North* which you so much Magnifie for the Degeneracy of their Clergy, but the Excrescences and Parings of Monarchy, plac'd in continual Fears and Troubles, for Securing their Treaties and Alliances, without which, they lye at the Mercy of the First Monarch that comes near 'em? If we look home, we shall find those Reigns most Glorious,

ous, in which the Clergy were in Favour: Chap. VI  
such were the Reigns of *Alfred*, *Edward the Confessor*, *Edward I.* *Henry V.* *Q. Eliz.* *R. James I.* and the beginning of the Reign of *R. Charles I.* Are there any more Shining Heroes in all our Annals? Were the Times ever better, or freer from Murmuring and Disturbance? 'Tis by those Methods we still flourish: by placing the Government in the Hands of the Church of *England*: not thro' Force and Necessity, but by Choice and Election, and a Free Declaration in our Favour: So that we rest assur'd we shall always enjoy *Her Majesty's* real Affections, without envying others her *Mercy* and *Moderation*; If indeed the unhappy Divisions of our Church, have provok'd the *Royal Resentment*, let not therefore our Enemies rejoice against us: Is it not a Sign *She* is touch'd with our Misfortunes, and would prevent our Ruin? Had she not lov'd us, we should have been left to our selves, to tare and worry one another; It is not so with those that are against us: they may go on *Vexing* and being *Vext*, and no such Friendly Power interpose to part them; from this Prospect if we look over to the *Neighb'ring Isle*, what was it, but a Barbarous unhospitable Shore, till Religion and Episcopacy were establish'd there? What is *Wales* as this Time, but the Jest of *England*, on a Civil, because on an Ecclesiastical Account? And as to *Scotland*, can it be suppos'd, That ever made such a Figure, since the Abolition of Episcopacy, as when 'twas able to Cope with *England*, and often forc'd us to an Honourable Peace; Then if withal we consider the several Counties of *England*,  
we



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we shall find those the Poorest and of least Reputation, where the Revenues and Credit of the Clergy are lowest: and is it not remarkable, that their Splendor and Greatness have increas'd in *London*; proportionably to the Grandeur of that unparallel'd *Metropolis*? Let us revolve the Many great turns of our State, and we shall find, those that are most glorious and celebrated, in a great Measure owing to the Influence of the Clergy; The Three most Shining, are, the *Reformation*, the *Restoration*, and the *Revolution*: the *First*, was certainly manag'd by *Cranmer* and his Followers of the same Order; The *Second*, is by many imputed to the Good Advice of one of *Monk's* Chaplains, and there's scarce a Writer of any Side, that undertakes to give an Account of the *Last*, without mentioning *Magdalen College*, the *Seven Bishops*, My Lords of *York*, *London*, and *Salisbury*, and many others of that Order, with vast Numbers of the Inferior Clergy; Thus you see, *Phil*, strange things may be prov'd by a good dextrous Management of *Stories* and *History-Books*: so that I really advise you and as a Friend, not to lay out too much Faith upon such kind of Evidence, for I do not question, but half the Squires, and Gentlemen of the Nation, and any of the *Companies*, and *Cries* of *London*, *Taylor*s, *Grocer*s, and *Hammer-Men*, even the *Chimney-Sweepers*, *Cobblers*, and *Blades* of the *Gentle-Craft*, may from an Impartial Survey of their *Pedigrees*, the *Records*, and *Memoirs* of their Order, make it appear, how often and how bravely, their Ancestors have sav'd the Nation, conquer'd *France*, pull'd down *Popery*, and maintain'd

tain'd the Crown: as also how many *Wolves* Chap. VI.  
and *Gyants, Rapparees* and *Mos-stroopers* they have  
most victoriously Master'd and Slain, to the  
Everlasting Honour of their Profession, and for  
the Good of *Old England*.

P. If examples won't do, *Tim*, do but consider the Ill Consequences of thy Hypothesis, and how it tends to hinder all *Reformation*.

T. So then we are got to *Parson upon Doro-* Chap. VII.  
*thy*, or, the *Blackslidings of Levi*—Well,  
*Phil*, and how came you to luck upon this  
Subject? I would have made my *Book* all of a  
Piece, had I been in your stead: whereas to  
me now, the very *Title* of this *Chapter* sounds  
a little too much like Truth.

P. Oh! does it so, Mr. *Timothy*!

T. And because all Truth from your Mouth must needs be very surprizing, if you please we'll repeat it a little. Chap. 2. *That this Hypothesis of*—'tis no great Matter for the Rest, but the whole Amounts to thus much, *That this Hypothesis of Queen, Lords, and Commons, in any one Kingdom, makes all State Re-formations, that is, where the State is not re-form'd already, to be unlawful, unless those in Power, that is, Queen, Lords, and Commons, do Consent, that is, Pass the Bill; And this is so very plain and sure, yet withal so very rare and cunning an Observation, viz. that the Consent of those in Power, is absolutely Necessary to all those things, which cannot be done, but by those that have Power to do them, that for Fear it should not be sufficiently taken Notice of, you have been careful to transcribe it fairly, and fix it at the very tip-top of the Chapter to the Amazement of all Spectators; and that*  
G they

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they may not grudge their Gaping, but be yet more amaz'd and astonish'd, I would have you tell 'um, how 'tis possible a State or Church should be reform'd, but only by those who are in Power for that very purpose: as likewise, how these Reformers may be said to Reform, and yet not to Consent, no not so much as, *tacitly* to the said Reformation: It being very Suspicious, that in this place, the *Deed* only takes upon it to stand for the *Will*, just to serve a Turn and no more, the *Will* having so often and so generously pass'd for the *Deed*.

P. At last then, i'm in the Right: and now I hope I have pleas'd you.

T. And yet you are such a great Dealer in *Coggs, Fibbs, Rappers, Whiskers*, and that Sort of Ware, that I don't know, but my Mind misgives me plaguily, and I cannot but fancy, you are at your *Old Trade* again; for suppose now you should mean, that it is unlawful for a People to reform, that is, grow Good of themselves and by Voluntary Motion, without the Consent of the Magistrate: As this manifestly tends to the utter Destruction of all the Moral Vertues, *Moderation* and all, unless an *Act of Parliament*, which is the Consent of those in Power, be timely provided for each of 'um: So your supposing on the other Hand, that such a Notion as this was ever thought of as the Consequence of any Independent Power whatsoever, is one of your *Old Bites*, which you had better have crowded somewhere into one of your *Paragraphs*, than have let it stare us so Impudently in the Face, at the very *Front* of the Chap-

ter;



ter; for could you have found among all the persecuting *Tories*, *Tyrants*, and Independent Powers since *Nimrod*, any so very Mad and Bewitch'd, as to Punish the Subject for offering to reform without his Consent, or to Commit any of the Vertues, without Licence first obtain'd of the State, and to hold all this as a *Maxim* in Politicks, a Rule of Court, a Standing Order: then indeed, you might have laid about you most strenuously, and have levell'd this *Tory* Text, with *Bell* and the *Dragon*; and as to any *explanation*, you are very Dark throughout this whole *Chapter*, which makes me Fancy, you had some Kindness for the Notion, on the old score of *Selfishness*: for if 'tis unlawful to reform, unless the Powers in being consent, one would think it should be lawful to be Wicked, unless they expressly ordain'd the contrary: and then your telling so many *Rappers*, is an Orthodox and Sanctify'd Practice, because there is as yet no *Positive Law* for Speaking of Truth.

P. Now I fancy, *Tim*, the best way to know whether the *Title* of the *Chapter* be true, is to consult the *Contents*.

T. Why that, as you say, seems to be the best, and so I believe it was among the Antients; for suppose I dip into the *Renowned History* of *Parismus* and *Parismenos*, and there I luck upon, *Chap. 3.* with this *Title*, *How Brandamor the Giant* †††††† Or put Case, I am deeply engag'd in any of the Modern Records of *London Bridge*, or *Grub-street*, *Chap. 6.* — *How the Merchant's Daughter of Bristol* . . . . . If I should be inveig'd by any such surprizing *Titles* to read further in

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the *Contents*, I shall be sure not to be baulk'd, but shall find something of what the *Author* promis'd in the *Title*, made out pretty clear in the *History*, and what he undertook, shall be done perhaps to Satisfaction: and for my Part, I hoped other Authors, that may hap pretend to as much renown, should deal as honestly by their *Reader*: and thereupon, when I did expect to see you make it out, First, That no one can reform, unless he has a Power to reform, or as the learned put the Question, *Potentia semper pracedit Actum*, or that it is unlawful to do good unless a Man has a *Patent* for't; Secondly, That 'tis lawful in Chap. 7. to give the Independent Power a Supposititious Being only, whereas in the very *first Chap.* 'twas fix'd Firm and Solid, and made stout enough to engage all other Powers whatever; And Thirdly, That the Independent Power of the Church must certainly hinder all Reformation, and that, because 'tis Independent, whereas the Independent Power of the State can never do any such thing, not being equally powerful, tho' it be equally Independent, both which let me tell you, it highly be-rides you in your present Station to take Care of: I say, when I expected to see all these amazing Projects and Wonders of the *Title-page*, clearly made out in the *Contents*, and thereupon went on big with Hope, and brimful of Longing for the Show, Instead thereof, I only found a Parcel of State Lumber, and the Old Sayings, that we have been troubled with so often already, as, that *the Clergy may Impose what Doctrines they please: The People are to chuse their Teacher, and to try him: To follow their Consciences, and not their Guides*, and such kind

kind of Points, new brush'd up and furbish'd; Chap. VII. After such a Disappointment, what and how great was my Mortification? I could not chuse but wish, that if you must needs have Names to your *Chapters*, that you would have call'd 'um after the *Ten Predicaments*, or *Apollo* and the *Nine Muses*, or the *Twelve Apostles*, leaving out *Judas*, and clapping *Peter* to the *Preface*: or if you resolv'd to be Sententious, and to christen 'um as they did Children heretofore, by a whole *Verse* at a time, that you would have Imitated an Eminent Casuist that way, and have set down, Chap. 6. *Which contains what you'll see if you read it.* Chap. 7. *Which is the very next that follows*; This now would have been to the Purpose: but for you to go and write Problems and Propositions at the Top of the *Chapter*, in order to be demonstrated in the *Contents*, and then to take no Notice of 'um from thence to the bottom: is, in my poor Judgment, very ill Contriv'd: and if some Malicious Rogue or another should put you to the tryal, and take the *Title-page* and clap it to the bottom of the *Chapter*, and then write after it, *Quod erat Demonstrandum*, I'm sure you'd make but a pittyful Figure, notwithstanding your Confidence.

P. Thou hast a great Mind, *Tim*, to stop at the *Title*, for fear of the *Contents*: but prithee advance, and try the Reasons that Follow; dost thou not think, that if God has put the Clergy in Power and made 'um Independent of the People, that then they may preach what Doctrines, and Impose what Terms of Communion they please?

T. Now all this supposes, that there is no



Chap. VII. *Scripture*, No *Gospel*, No *Christianity*, and that God has sent a *Sect* of Men into the World with a *Blanck Commission*, to fill it up as they shall think fit: but it so unluckily happens, that their *Commission* is in *Prinu*, and made *Publick*: and the *Terms of Commu- nion* are as well known as *Littleton's Tenures*; and tho' their Power be *Independent*, so far as they act agreeably to this *Commission* and keep within *Compass*, yet whenever they stretch and go further, an *Action of Trespas* lyes against 'um, as bad as, *Quare Liberam Warrenam*, &c. and therefore tho' we should grant the *Clergy's Power* to be from God, yet no one from thence would presume to prove, that therefore instead of the *Cross* in *Baptism*, they may take a good round *Summ of Money*, or instead of *Marriage-Fees* the *First Night* with the *Bride*, as they say the *Priests* do in *India*; for if they really think, that if their Power be from God, it must therefore give 'um *Authority* to do what they please, they may e'en fairly set up a *Thunder Officer* for all such *Reprobates* as you, and *Summon* the *Old one* in *Person* to carry 'um all away a *Pick-a-Pack* to *Stryx*, without any half-way stopps at *Purgatory*.

P. Nay, *Tim*, if you allow the *People* to disown and shun 'um, when they teach false *Doctrines*, and chuse others in their stead, there's an *End* of their *Independency*: for this makes 'um wholly *Dependent* on the *People*.

T. Not so neither: you know the *Magistrate* was made elective by the *People* in your *Introduction*, and yet in the *First Chapter* he started

started up *Irresistable* and *Uncontrolable*; Now Chap. VII. suppose a Clergyman should claim any Right or Power, which by the Words of his Commission he has no Title to: I make him a Leg, and beg his *Independency* Pardon, I won't obey him: and if he persists and provokes me, perhaps I may find a Way, saving the Rights of the Church, to be even with him.

P. Prithee what way is that?

T. Why, you must know 'tis a *Secret*, a Discovery of my own, and there's no Reason I should tell every Body.

P. Ay, but to a Friend, *Tim*!

T. Why then, you must know, I'll Summon him before his *Ordinary* for a Deceiver, and false Teacher, and he shall turn him out of the Church for me, and put another in his stead.

P. Is this thy Discovery, *Tim*? Why this is done every Day in Civil Matters with secular Judges and Evil Councillors.

T. Well I really know some Folks, who if they had ever heard of this *Device*, would never argue as they do; but now, if these Secular Officers are Independent of the People, and yet those very People have such a strange Invention to turn 'um out for Mal-administration: the same Course may be taken in the Church, and the Independent Power shall be as safe as *Beau* in *Bedchamber*.

P. But then, *Tim*, are we not commanded, to avoid and flee *False Teachers*? And if we are to avoid such, we are to judge who they are, and when found Guilty, to displace 'em.

T. There now I agree with you, *Phil*: I am not only for Judging, Censuring, and a-

Chap. VII. voiding False Teachers, but for Silencing and Depriving 'um: and that you and I may manage this Matter as carefully as ever we can, I fancy it will be Mightily expedient, for fear we should be out in our Judgment, to resort to some very experienc'd Person to assist us herein and help us out in the Business: as suppose we should repair to the Bishop, who being a true Teacher, will be sure to have the more Spite at those that are False; Now as such a one can best assist us in Judging a False Teacher, so he is best qualify'd to punish him for his Falshood: and if once we could put him in the Way to punish all the False Teachers in the Nation, 'twould be the pretty'st Contrivance for the Good of the Church that has been yet thought of, and I'll engage shall atone for all the Harm you ever design'd against her.

P. There's no great need of that: for the People's separating from a False Teacher, is an effectual Deprivation: and when a Teacher is thus depriv'd, 'tis necessary the People should chuse anew, or remain without any Publick Ministry.

T. Nay if Separation destroys the Ministry, it may e'en destroy Christianity too: I am sure our Saviour, and I take him to be legally ordain'd, was at one time so intirely separated from, that I have been told he was left all alone, without so much as one Apostle with him: and yet I hope his Priesthood continu'd for all that; How often were the Apostles, and Primitive Teachers, banish'd, imprison'd, forsaken, and separated from the World, more Ways than by their Office and Ordination? There is Athanasius, particularly renown'd, for



for Singularity and Standing by himself: and yet these are reckon'd of the Clergy, and the Church owns 'um for her particular Favou-rites; Then for your own especial Friends, *Luther, Cranmer, and Wickliff*: they separated from the World, and the World from them: and yet these are your darling and beloved Parsons, and as authentick as *Melchisedech*. After all *Phil*, the best way to deprive a false Teacher, is to seperate him from the People by calling him before his Betters, and proving his false Doctrines to his Teeth: but barely to seperate from him and to leave him to himself, or perhaps to let him inveigle some of our weak Brethren with his Falshood: This is far from being the way to reform us, and may perhaps be what the False Teacher desires, viz. a *Sinecure*; And then, after a Deprivation, how foolish a Contrivance is it for you to summon the People to a New Choice, that in all Likelihood know no more of *Divinity* than of *Algebra*? whereas the matter might be much better manag'd by those who best understand it, and perhaps the *College*, the *Chapter*, or the *Bishop*, have according to their wonted Generosity, most graciously undertaken it already.

P. Prithee, *Tim*, tell me, was not Religion made for the sake of the People? and is it not the Concern of all? and therefore every thing therein must be with the Consent of all; or was Religion made for the sake of the Priests, and to promote their Power and Interest?

T. No doubt, *Phil*, Religion was made for the People, and so was Law and Justice: and yet who makes Judges, Justices, and Privy-Coun-

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Athena-  
sius contra  
Mundum,  
&c.

Chap. VII. Counsellors? and if the Constable were never to be chosen, without the Consent of *all* the *Billmen* and *Lanthorns* might fairly break up, and to bed with their Wives; For observe, *Phil*, you are not to demonstrate People into a Republick., as you would a Parcel of *Figures* into a *Summ Total*; and setting down A for *Law*, and B for *Religion*, and C for the *People*, come and prove, that A was made for C, and B for C, therefore C is to have the whole Management of A and B: for let me tell you the People are not altogether such harmless Creatures, as a few Schemes in *Geometry*, or a Commonwealth of *Logarithms*: 'tis scarce fair in any Science to make use of the Term, *People*, that being set to signify a Mass of *Animal Atoms* and *Heterogeneous Principles*, which can never be confin'd to any set Rules and Maxims: They have different Interests in themselves, Temporal and Eternal, and different from one another: Different Passions, and different Understandings: Had they ever been unanimous in their Choice, untouch'd by their Passions, regular in their Judgment, always preferring their truest Happiness: Then indeed, much might be expected from an *Ecclesiastical Commonwealth*: But tho' Religion be for their Interest, yet 'tis not for their Interest to have it all in their own Power: When it was so, we see to what Pass they brought it; if indeed a Priest were no more than barely the People's Representative, deputed by 'um to give an account once a Week, to their Friends *above*, of the State of their Affairs, and how 'twas with 'um: When they did desire a good Show'r or so, and

and how long they were pleas'd to let the Chap. VII.  
 Summer last, or whether willing to depose  
 the *Dog-ster*: or else to meet now and then in  
*Concocation*, and there redress Grievances, and  
 settle accounts, What new Vertues and Moral  
 Duties were fit to be enacted, and what re-  
 peal'd according to present *Circumstances*:  
 This questionless would make Religion the  
 Concern of *All*, but as the Case now stands,  
 I am afraid there is besides this same *All*, some  
 Body else concern'd in the Matter: For Reli-  
 gion was not invented in the *Vestry*, nor the  
*Saviour* of the World chosen by a *Poll*: and  
 therefore if he has made another Provision for  
 the Ministry and Management of Religion,  
 tho' this be the Concern of *all*, yet they must  
 not take it ill, if he, who is *All in All*, has gi-  
 ven Orders before 'um.

P. Are not the Faithful commanded to pro-  
 propagate the Faith, and consequently to do all  
 that's necessary thereto, which must include  
 making their own Ministers?

T. And so, because all Christians, and I a-  
 mong the rest, are oblig'd to propagate Re-  
 ligion, that is, according to our Station and  
 Abilities, therefore I am as much oblig'd to do  
 it as an *Archbishop* or *Patriarch*, and to use the  
 ordinary Methods, that is, to ordain Mini-  
 sters, to Baptize, Preach, and Expound: to  
 build Churches, look after the Poor, to write  
 Comments, confute Hereticks, and settle the  
 Funds for all these extraordinary Services:  
 And after the same manner, because every  
 Private Subject is equally oblig'd to propagate  
 Justice and Truth, therefore as Means there-  
 to, every Private Subject may erect Courts,

sum.



Chap. VII. summon Witnesses, appoint Judges, and Administer Oaths; At this rate, Mr. Mayor will find it hard to get *Serjants* and *Tipslaves*, if they have all as good a Title to the Chair as his *Worship*.

P. Is a Protestant oblig'd to follow a Popish Guide? if he be not, why should he follow any Guide that he thinks in the wrong? since all *Implicit Faith* is forbid.

T. Lookye, *Phil*, tho' all implicit Faith be forbid, yet Men must not therefore presently turn Infidels, and believe no Body tho' never so much wiser than themselves: and I see no reason, why a Man should not have as much *Ecclesiastical Faith*, as he has *Civil*: If he is troubl'd with any *Distemper*, or with a *Lawsuit*, which is as bad, he resorts to Men learned that way, and set apart for that purpose, and blindly submits to their Council, and pays 'um for't besides: Whereas the Parson, tho' he adds *Scripture* to his Council, and gives proof of his good advice, can yet gain neither *Fees*, nor *Credit* with you, 'Tis true a *Protestant* is not oblig'd to take a *Jesuite* for his Guide, nor yet a *Bracman*, nor a *Pammaner*; but what then? are there no *Protestant* Priests and Guides? or must he never ask any Body the way, because here and there an arch Wagg may set him wrong, and it may be lead him into a Ditch? Cases of Law, are often Cases of Conscience: now if a Man were to chuse his own Guide here, he would no question chuse such a one as would certainly be of his side: and the same would be the Case with his Adversary: now to prevent these Disorders, there are Guides provided by Authority, yet none

none *Infallible* : tho' if these same Guides make Chap. VII. a Trade of being *mistaken*, there are other Guides set over them, and others again over those, and by such mutual *Cheques* and *Ballances*, Justice, Honesty, and Truth, are kept up in the World the best we can ; Now as in Civil Causes, the Party concern'd has always a good Opinion of his own Cause, so in Religious Matters, every Man being a Party, espouses some certain Opinions, right or wrong, to which for the present he adheres : and let such a one chuse his own Guide, and he naturally resorts to those of the same Principle with himself : and so *Teacher* and *Hearer*, tho' perhaps both in an Error, uphold one another, till they are convinc'd without a Possibility of Reforming : But if he resorts to the *Publick* Minister, who judges indifferently of Private Opinions :. he takes the best Course to be rightly inform'd, is excusable, if mistaken : He has the Doctrine of the Church, and if he should ever find her in the Wrong, he has a Glorious Opportunity of giving his Reasons and Informing her better : For that Church, which has *reform'd* so many times already, will not be asham'd to do it again, whenever she's convinc'd of her Error.

P. Every Man knows best, who edifies him most, speaks most to his Apprehension ; and raises his Affections in the most heavenly manner : and therefore he must chuse such a one, and not whom the Church imposes.

T. But observe, *Ph. 1.* all Preaching is really a *Contradiction* to the World, and therefore, 'tis highly necessary that none should preach, but those that are *sent*, not *Chosen* :  
For

Chap. VII. For 'tis to be presum'd, Men would of themselves chuse those, that would sooth 'um most, and make 'um all to be the *Saints* and the *Elect*; Besides, if it be as you say, that every one best knows who can edify him most, this to my Fancy, seems to be a very good reason against *popular Elections*; if indeed you can get an *Act of Parliament*, that every private Person shall keep a *Chaplain*, with all my Heart: there's an End of the Dispute, provided they can agree about *Wages*: or if the *Churchwardens*, *Constable*, and *Lord of the Mannor*, be all put into Orders, or at least Two or Three in every Parish, provided still the Parish will maintain them, with all my Heart still, there's the more Choice: But if once you divide the Church into Assemblies and Congregations, and these can afford to keep but *one Minister*, as some think even that's too much: then, say I, by your own Argument, he must not be *Elective*, And why? because when the Election draws on, and the *Candidates* show out: *One* perhaps preaches *Comfortable*, and pretty much upon the *Venial Strain*, and he pleases the *Ladies*: another, he holds forth in *Terrors*, and Addresses to the *Strongwater-bottle*, and *Handkerchief*, and he takes with the *Old Women*: a Third inveighs bitterly against the Age, and the crying Sins of *Adultery* and *Fornication*, and so inveigles the *Corporation*: A Fourth is full of *Texts* and *Proofs*, and thereby charms the *Prentices*: So that, almost every one of the Auditors pitches upon several Guides, as being those that best edifie 'um, and are each in great danger, if they miscarry in their Choice;

Now



Now in this Case, the best way is for some Learned Judge in Divinity, the *Bishop* for Instance, or *Chapter*, to interpose, and pick 'um out such a Man, who by his general skill in Preaching and Controversy, shall be sure to please 'um all; but suppose the Congregation be unanimous, or at least very near it: yet still, they may be easily unanimous in that which is wrong, and then 'tis very fit they should be told on't: In which case, an Election is certainly the most pernicious way that can be; do you think the Congregations of *Ludgate-hill* or *Pater-noster-row*, would chuse one for their Parson, that was violently set against an immoderate use of *Silks*, *Sattins*, *Laces* and *Topknots*? and yet such a one would edifie 'um most; or d'ye think, the good People of *White-chappel*, would infallibly pitch upon him, that could most strenuously defend the strict Observation of *Lent*? I'll warrant, tho' he brought the Miracle of the *Five Loaves* with him, and reduc'd Mutton and Beef to *Three Farthings a Pound*, they'd deal with him like honest *Gadarens*, and civilly intreat him to depart out off their *Coasts*.

P. You see *Tim*, Men are allow'd to chuse their *Brewer* and their *Baker*, their *Miller* and *Butcher*: why should they not chuse their Parson?

T. Oh, *Sir*! the reason of that is, because all Men have not the same Judgment in *Divinity*, as they have in *Beer*, and *Roast Beef*; Besides, if there be really but one *Baker* and *Butcher* in the Parish, and they sell as cheap as any of the Trade, and as good Goods, and come up to the *Size*, and observe the *Statute*,

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<sup>d</sup> See Kin-  
chen and  
Shepherd.

'tis thought an unneighbourly trick, and besides that, no good Husbandry neither, to deal with a Stranger; Nay, in some Cases, there is a Force upon the Chapman, <sup>d</sup> For it is inquirable at the *Mannor Court*, if the *Tenants* do all grind at the *Lord's Mill*: but the Church is not quite so rigorous, for in extraordinary Cases, if any unusual matter should happen, we think it very advisable to consult the *Chapter*, or to write up to the *Professor*, or to advise with any able Minister, provided he be a *Minister*, but instead of that, to apply to those, that are not really so, is, we think, the same thing, as if a Man should bespeak a *Humber of Stout* of his *Miller*, or send in all hast to his *Baker*, for a *Sir Loyn*, and *Marrow-bones*.

P. No, *Tim*, I suppose you would have 'um apply to *Synods* and *Councils*, which tho' some *Protestants* magnify at as great a Rate as the *Papists* do, yet they dare not stand that Test: and therefore, they are for such *Councils* only, as are *Orthodox*: which certainly subjects all *Councils* to the Judgment of private Persons; and 'tis well for us they are so subjected, for there scarce ever was a *Council*, but prostituted Religion, and sold it to the fairest Bidder; Nay, so very apt were they, either out of Design or Ignorance, to be in the wrong, that 'tis Forty to One, that every one of 'um, taking 'um one with another, was so.

T. Well, *Phil*, you allow'd *Protestants* just now to be for *Protestant Guides*, why should they not also be for *Protestant Councils*? For the same Argument, by which you magnify private

private Judgments, will serve to magnify Chap. VII.  
 many private Judgments met together, and  
 form'd into one General Judgment, which  
 makes a *Council*: and when these private Judgments  
 assemble under the Qualifications I have  
 already hinted, *In the Multitude of such Coun-*  
*Jellors*, there must be *Safety, Wisdom, and*  
*Peace*, at least the best that can be had with-  
 out resort to *Infallibility*. In truth, *Phil*, there  
 is no Argument against *Synods* and *Councils*,  
 but holds equally good against *Parliaments*,  
 yet this is no bar to their Authority, and  
 their Decrees bind the Conscience as much in  
 point of *Justice*, as the others in matters of  
*Faith*; now both these are founded upon the  
 Nature and Vallidity of private Judgment:  
 For every private Judgment, that is conscious  
 to its self of any tolerable Advances in Know-  
 ledge, can never confine it self to a *Study* or  
 a *Chimney-corner*, but is naturally communica-  
 tive, and willing to confirm it self in the  
 Truth, by having it debated and argu'd in  
 Conversation: and there being in every Na-  
 tion a good Number of such Judgments, they  
 must needs desire to find one another out for  
 these very Purposes, and this naturally tends  
 to a *Synod*; Now there being so many false  
 Pretenders to Judgment and Knowledge, this  
 makes it necessary to have a select Number:  
 and if in their Debates and Reasonings, they  
 still persue the Dictates of their own private  
 Judgments, abstracted from all other Consid-  
 erations whatever, admitting withal the Argu-  
 ments of all other private Judgments, that  
 may, and if they can, ought to inform the  
 Assembly, *Remonstrances* and *Petitions* being as  
 ne-



Chap. VII. necessary here, as in Civil Conventions, then the Result hereof, which becomes a publick Judgment, must certainly be as true and infallible as can be, saving still the Privilege of altering and amending, if any new Lights and Discoveries should arise. For in many Ages some great Men have found the Publick to be in the Wrong, and have had Notions of their own contrary to those of the Church, of which being fully persuaded, they have found themselves oblig'd to follow such Dictates, but yet without disturbing the Common Peace, they waited for a proper time till they could convince others, or be convinc'd themselves; Now after every Publick Judgment pass'd, there's no reason it should be subjected to any one private Judgment, it having been settled already by so Many, and such as best understood it: So that by your own right of *Majority*, and on that very Pow'r of private Judgment which you advance against um, you see *Councils* and *Synods* are founded and establish'd; Now, the reason why our Church subjects so many of the *Papish* Councils to private Judgments, is, because they never yet pass'd that Test, as all Councils should do, but instead of that, were manag'd by private Passion, and private Interest, as the *Histories* of their Management, which indeed are the best Arguments against um, do sufficiently prove; had they instead of that, been impartially conducted by private Judgment, their Decrees would have taken much better; so that your arguing from the Naughtiness of the *Papish* Councils, that there never was a good *Synod*, or never would be, which indeed ought to have

have been prov'd, is very Bold and Malicious: Chap. VII.

'tis flinging Dirt at random, and like a Cow, that *Disembogues* as she goes, fowling more room than you need to do: but I am glad 'tis only your Private Judgment, for I dare swear 'twill never have many Companions: Nay, you prove it by such a Scurvy Argument, that in my Private Judgment, your Private Judgment is a little beside it, self: for how is it, that I am to discover, that all the *Councils* and *Synods*, not one excepted, have been in the Wrong? Why, say you, by taking them one with another: Now I would fain know, how I can be said to take 'um one with another, if they be all alike? Or if by taking 'um one with another, you mean taking the bad Councils, and mixing some of their False Doctrines with the good, in Order to make 'um all alike, I much question if this be fair dealing: and if I shall find 'um most certainly to be all bad, by taking 'um one with another, that is, by finding some good amongst 'um, I am horribly afraid one or other of us will be mistaken: So that for my Part, I take your *Wager of Fairty to One*, to be much the better Argument in the Case, and yet if your *Policy* be founded upon no better Intelligence, the World will be apt to say, you are running out of your *Money* and your *Wits* together: *well* *old P.* I find; *Tim*, in all this long account of thine, there's no mention in the least of *Conscience*; I suppose, thou art of Opinion, that *Conscience*, tho' it be erroneous, is never to be hearken'd to.

*T.* *Conscience*, *Phil*, as I have already hinted is the very same thing with Knowledge

Chap. VII. and Judgment, only 'tis a Religious Knowledge, and a Religious Judgment: Now as all Willful Errors are Criminal; no doubt the Opinion and conceit of not being Erroneous, when we really are, is so too: And the same Method which is us'd in getting rid of Secular Ignorance, is as good a Remedy against Ecclesiastical Ignorance: He that only understands the Plummets and Gunter, must be very conceited if he presumes to be a Mathematician: and therefore he cannot tell, when he has Occasion for that Art, but he may of himself fall into Mistakes, so his best Way will be, to resort to those who are Famous that Way for Direction: the same is the Case in Religion, he that can manage a Farm, or is a shrewd Fellow in a Warehouse, must not presently undertake to be a Casuist or Commentator, and as he deals his Goods very often to an Ignorant Chapman, upon his own Word and Warranty, he ought to allow the same Practice in Matters he does not understand: for Religion is not to be bought by the Pound, nor is Faith recorded in a Shopbook: Now when an Erroneous Conscience has taken this Course to be set right, then its Dictates are warrantable; and however wrong, yet Pardonable; But the Method of Erroneous Consciences is quite different amongst us: If you give 'um Reasons and Arguments, they answer you with that troublesome Term, Conscience; that being it seems something above all Reason and Argument; If you ask 'um for a few Dictates of that same Conscience, they'll tell you, they are such as they rest satisfy'd with, and what's that to any Body else? If you remind 'um of a few Social Duties,



Duties, they'll conclude, *they know as much of 'um* as the best, and Why? Because the Gospel was made for them as well as for their betters, and indeed, so were Law and Justice, the Sun, Moon, and Seven Stars, which will Infallibly make us all Counsellors, Justices, Astrologers, Mathematicians, and Almanackmakers.

P. Thou art still hankering after the Old slavish Hypothesis: but why shouldst thou imagine, Tim, that God has been more Severe to the Church, than to the State? The Reason why People may withdraw their Allegiance from the Civil Magistrate, is, because they deputed him to act for their own Good, and therefore must reserve a Power of judging whether he acts according to that Trust or no.

T. Now I thought, Phil, when the People put the Magistrate into Power, 'twas for their own ease, and because they thought the Place troublesome: but if they really gave it him in Order to Act for their own Good, they must, as necessary means thereto, give him a Power to judge, what is that Good: and Consequently, if they gave away the Power of Judging, they can hardly be said to reserve it; If I depute another Person to do Business for me, because he's in the Way and upon the Spot, or because he's a Man of more Power than I, and can better compass it: or if I depute him with a full and particular Scheme of Instructions, according to which he shall proceed, and annex it to his Deputation: In all these Cases I may perhaps reserve a Power of Judging, whether he has acted contrary to his Trust or no: But then the People do not depute the Magistrate upon any of these ac-

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counts: Not because he's more in the Way than the People, for they take up much more room than he: neither because he has more Power than they, that were to suppose, that he has that already which they only can give him: whereas, you say the Power is originally in them: and if by Power you mean *Force*, that always remains with the Multitude. Neither *lastly*, do they depute the Magistrate with a full and particular Scheme of *Instructions*, how he shall act in every respect: *that*, as you observe, would make him a *Tool* in the worst Sense: besides, such a Power is purely *executive*, and can extend to but one half of the Government; But now, If I depute a Person to do Business for me, for this Reason, because he is wiser and more knowing than I, and consequently, is suppos'd to understand my Good better than I do my self, In this Case, for me to pretend to Judge, is breaking the *Original Contract* with a Vengeance: for by Judging, I undertake to be wiser than he is whom I judge, whereas by the *Original Contract*, I had before acknowledg'd him to be the wisest of the two; That this is the Way of deputing Governors by the People, is plain from *Elections*, and tho' a *King* is not always the wisest Person in a *Nation*, yet if you take him with all his Ministers and Councillors about him, which are all necessary Parts and Perquisites of his Office, tho' not of his *Person*, and in this Sense, the Government of a Nation is properly the *Wisdom* of a Nation; So that, even by your own Argument, supposing a Popular Form, yet the Power of *calling to an Account*, or *Deposing*, is intirely taken

taken away; Now this 'twill be very expedient to Illustrate by an Instance or two: Here in England, our *Parliament-Men* and *Mayors* are all elective: the *Reign* of a *Mayor* is for one Year; that of a *Parliament Man* for Three, exclusive of the People: Now during this *Reign*, for the Electors to meet together, to judge them, and their proceedings, or to undertake to depose 'um, was never yet allow'd as a *Right*; and is no better than *Rioting* and *Mutiny*: and then, what Nonsense is it to affirm, that our *Kings* and our *Queens* are *accountable*, and may be depos'd, tho' they are not *elective*, when we cannot call to an account, or depose those very *Subordinate Powers*, that are *Elective*? Why are the Men, who argue thus, call'd *Knaves*, *Rebels*, *Levellers*, and *Republicans*? When there is so Natural and Familiar a *Title*, that is much more proper in the Case, and so justly their due, in the largest Sense, and through all its Significations.

P. I care not for Significations, *Tim*, if you admit the *Divine Right* or *Commission*, it must needs follow, that the Magistrate can never forfeit his *Right*, or be *accountable*: and this was the very *Consequence*, which the *Tories* made use of in the *late Reign*.

T. True: But then methinks, *Phil*, you should be so much of a *Whigg*, as not to hearken to every *Consequence*, which those same *Tories* will make; and truly, your admitting it as good, Increases my Suspicion horribly; for tho' a Man should grant the *Divine Commission*, yet he'll be very Inquisitive, of what sort this *Commission* is, and how far it extends: for God never gave a *Commission* to commit



Chap. VII. Murder, or a *Divine Right* to Oppression or Injustice: but the Magistrate having only a Commission to do all the Good that's possible, such a Commission can never be pleaded to justify all Manner of Evil; Now, tho' the Resistance, as you explain it by calling to an Account, Censuring, and Punishing, which cannot be done without a Commission, whenever it comes to the *Supream*, from whom all Commissions are deriv'd, is certainly unlawful: yet where there is a *Cheque* between the *Subordinate* Powers, one may lawfully oppose the other, without resisting the *Head*, by whom both are equally commission'd; and if the Doctrine of *Passive Obedience* were thus far follow'd, that Men would rather suffer, than be Instrumental in Oppression and Injustice, there could be no such Monster upon Earth as a *Tyrant*; and therefore, the Principle of a *Divine Right* is certainly Good even among the *Moderns*. But 'tis the Consequence (*do what you please*) that is the *Tory*, and truly you, who allow of it, must certainly be one of the *Gang*. Now as *Extreams* beget one another, the Transition from *Tory* to *Whigg* Consequences is very Natural: therefore, because some have admitted, that one *Subordinate* Power can resist another, where both are equally commission'd, notwithstanding one has only *Law* on its side, and the other *Will and Pleasure*: or that, where the Constitution is Split and Mixt, one Part of the *Legislature* may oppose the other, therefore having gain'd the Point of *Resistance*, you presently bring forth, *Consequently*, the People may *Censure*, *Punish*, and *Depose*. Now why are the People brought in here?

here? Are they *Parts* of the *Legislature*, or Chap. VII.  
Subordinate Powers? Or are they only *Sub-*  
*jects*? 'Tis well for us, *Phil*, that so far as  
they are concern'd in the Government, they'll  
consent to be manag'd by the *few* Wise and  
Prudent, and will take *Bribes* rather than  
Plunder; So that, for my Part I wonder what  
you'd be at: would you have a Compleat *Ran-*  
*dy*, a General Scramble, an Universal *Wake*  
and *Revel*? Drain *Hampshire* of *Nuts*, *Here-*  
*fordshire* of *Apples*, and *Derbyshire* of *Ale*, but  
as for Crowns and Scepters, they are not to  
be wrestled for, or won at *Fisticuffs*, being a  
little more valuable than a *Hat* and *Feather*, or  
*Breeches* of the bravest *Buckskin*.

P. Well, *Tim*, after all thy Prate, I cannot  
but think, God has been as kind to the World  
in Ecclesiastical Matters, as in Civil.

T. Right, *Phil*, and therefore, if God has  
establish'd a *Divine Right* in Civils, why  
should we doubt, but that he has done the  
same in Ecclesiasticals, to secure us on one  
Hand from *Oppression*, and on the other from  
*Confusion*, to both which no Divine Right can  
be pleaded? Did God in Modelling the *Jewish*  
State, give an Immediate Divine Right to  
Monarchy, and a Divine Right of Episcopacy  
to the *Jewish* Church, notwithstanding that  
People were sufficiently sensible of a State of  
Slavery, out of which God so often affirms  
that he had deliver'd them? And do we think  
then, that these are the Methods to enslave a  
Nation? And is God less kind to the *Christian*  
Church and State, than he was to the *Jewish*?  
If that were then a Wise System, is it not so  
now? or is God better inform'd? Or is it  
Subject

Chap. VII. Subject to Casualties and Circumstances? Or was all this only *Ceremonial*? And if God permits Tyranny, yet will he also approve and establish it by a Law? If this were the Shadow, where then is the Substance, and how far must that exceed the other? Or is all this only by way of Project, and Proposal, a Plan of Government to be lay'd before the World, till God can make an Interest to have it approv'd, and get the Votes of the People?

P. But the Case is quite different, and there's less Reason for Tyranny in the Ecclesiastical *Independency*, than in the Civil: for a Man may separate from the Church, without those troubles and disorders, which follow from his Insisting on his Civil Rights, and renouncing the Magistrate.

T. I perceive you love Mischief, *Phil*, because you reckon that to be *least* reasonable, which Occasions fewest Disorders; Now for my Part, I'm for neither Civil nor Ecclesiastical Tyranny, but if Men value their Goods more than their Religion, and are not at all Disturb'd when that's in Danger, tho' a certain Writer of my Acquaintance expressly declares the contrary, and if there be Penalties to the Laws of the State, and none to those of the Church: then indeed, the Breach of the Laws of the Church creates less Disorders, than the Violation of the Laws of the State; and then, there is more Reason for Ecclesiastical Tyranny than for Civil, because that which creates least disorder is certainly most reasonable.

P. Oh! But then, a Man may submit to the Decrees of the Magistrate, tho' they be not

Just



Just: but he cannot to those of the Church, Chap. VII  
unless approv'd by his Conscience.

T. Oh rare *Tory*! Oh rare *Passive Obedience*! That is, the Decrees of the Church are Matters of Conscience, but Justice and Injustice are not; besides, what Reason is there to resist, if we can submit with a safe Conscience? And then too, the Decrees of the Church being confirm'd by the Decrees of the State, are consequently the Decrees of the State, and therefore ought to be submitted to, tho' never so unjust, even by your own Argument.

P. Prithee, *Tim*, turn to the next Chapter and there see, *what Mischiefs*—

T. No, no, *Phil*! I am in no such great haste, 'twill keep Cold, as the saying is; in the mean time, and to save your Credit, since you are pleas'd to mention such a thing as *Reformation* in the Titlepage of your Chapter, therefore if you think fit, we'll have a Word or two on that Subject; 'Tis true, you have made a step towards it in your *Seventh Paragraph*, wherein you advance these following Propositions: First, That the Independent Power of the Church was contriv'd in Order to Introduce the same into the State, which must needs be a very ill Contrivance, if, as you observe, there there can be but *one* of a Sort at a Time: and besides that, it proves the *Pope* to be older than *Nimrod*. Secondly, you say, 'tis impossible a Majority of the Clergy can reform without a Miracle. Thirdly, that 'tis unlawful for any of the Inferior Clergy to be Good and Vertuous, without Special leave of their *Ordinary*; All which Propositions, because  
you

chap. VII. you do not attempt to prove, as taking 'um  
 for Axioms and first Principles: therefore in  
 our turn, that we may be Sententious too, I  
 will from as good Maxims as those, undertake  
 to make it appear, that if Liberty of Conscience  
 be allow'd in the largest extent, as you take  
 it, 'tis impossible to have a *Reformation of*  
*Manners*; and this will Silence all those Cla-  
 mours, that the Church encourages *Immortality*:  
 that it gives *Liberty to Sin*, and not to serve God,  
 and such like, in which you abound.

P. O' my Word, Tim, thou hast taken a  
 World of Business upon thy Hands.

T. However; that I may manage it as well  
 as ever I can, I think it necessary to pre-  
 mise the true Nature of Dissention, Schism,  
 and all other Religious Differences at large,  
 and to shew wherein they consist; Now here  
 it is to be consider'd, that every Man as he  
 stands in *Different Relations*, so he is under  
*different Rules* and Obligations; as he is a Part  
 of the Universe, made to adorn the World,  
 and thereby to become an Instance of his Ma-  
 kers Glory, so far the *Law of Nature* binds  
 him, to which he is Subject consider'd simply  
 as a *Creature*; Next to this, there is the *Law*  
*of Order*: and this binds him to the Rules of  
 his *kind* and rank in the World: and this  
 reaches him as he is *Animal*; Then there is  
 the *Law of Reason*, by which he is ty'd up to cer-  
 tain Rules of *Natural Wisdom*: and this obli-  
 ges him as he is *Rational*; Now these three  
 Laws are by some taken in gross for the *Law*  
*of Nature*, being such as oblige him purely as  
*Man*, Prior to all *Social Considerations* whate-  
 ver; but then there are other Laws, which he  
 must

must also obey, when he enters into a State of Chap. VII.  
Community and Converse; the *Moral Law* binds him as he is a *Sociable Being*: and the *Political Law* as he is a Subject in some of the divided Governments of the World: and as he is a Member of some City or Part of that Country, so far is he oblig'd by the *Laws and Customs of the Place*; besides these, there is the *Law of Civility*, the *Law of OEconomy*, and the *Law of one's Profession*, which in their proper turns are proportionably binding; Consider him in *Relation to God*, and he is oblig'd by *Natural Religion*, as he expects to be happy under his Providence; Consider him, lastly, as an *Immortal Being*, design'd to be happy with God hereafter, and thus far is he oblig'd by *reveal'd Religion*; now tho' most of these Laws were before Religion, which was the last Consummation and Perfection of the Rest: yet when that was reveal'd, it enforc'd 'um all, and made 'um in Subordinate degrees, Parts of Christianity; and this is very plain from *Scripture*: Those *Texts*, that magnify the Glory of God, from a Consideration of *his Works*, are a Proof of the *Law of Nature*; the *Law of Order* is enforc'd by those *Texts*, that forbid the *Confusion of Kinds*; I need not mention the *Moral*, *Rational*, and *Political Laws*; *OEconomy* is call'd in *Scripture*, the *Law of one's Father and Mother*; the *Law of Civility*, is contain'd in those *Texts*, that injoin us to *improve our selves in the Sight of Men as well as of God*: to do things *Cameley* as well as *Virtuous*, *Lovely* as well as *Honest*, and to observe *Order and Decency*: and the *Law of one's City and Profession*, is establish'd by those *Texts*, that encourage



Chap. VII. encourage *Mechanick Arts and Industry*, and injoin us to keep up the *good Old Ways and Customs of a Society*; And thus it comes to pass, that all these Laws are ingross'd into one Mass, and make one Religion. Now where any one shall either mistake one of these Laws for the other, or wholly confine himself to some of 'um, and neglect the Rest, or any one of 'um, or any part of either: he thereby becomes a breaker of the Unity of Religion, and runs into Heresy, Schism, Ill-principles, and Ill-practices; and yet this is the Case with most Men; Ask the *Beau* to have some small regard to his *Inside*, and he answers you, that *God take him*, he is so exact an Observer of all *Decencies, and Decorums*, that he presumd it was impossible to censure the least step of his Conduct, and thereupon refers you to the Ladies: Now here's a *Deficiency*: such a one contents himself with two Laws only, the *Law of Nature*, and that of *Civility*: So that, his definition on is, a *Well-drest Mannerly Creature*; In the next place, if you desire the *Presbyterian* to give an Account of the *Political Law*, how far he has obey'd the Magistrate; and what he can say for himself in Case of Default: he thanks God, he's no *Papist*; nor *Perkinist*, that he neither *Swears, Whores, nor Drinks*: and so he runs on to these and the like *cross Purposes*; on the other hand, if you demand of the *Church-Rake*, how it comes to pass, that he was drunk last Saturday: and by what *Canon* it is, that he justifies the Production of a Bastard: he readily replies, that *Da—him*, he's no *Presbyterian Dog*, No *Fanaticall Son of a Whore*, No *Canting Rogue*, none of your *Farty One-Rascals*:  
 And

And by these Methods, men become *Sinners*, and *Schismatics*, by mistaking one Law for another, and contenting themselves with only a Part of their Duty; and in my Opinion, not only the *Quaker* and *Presbyterian* but he that professes *Swearing* to be lawful, and *Whoring* Orthodox, ought thereupon to separate from us: and then instead of being discourag'd, they might take the benefit of that gracious and general Act of *Toleration*, which you are pleas'd, in your Goodness, to grant 'em.

P. Prithce, *Tim*, does any Body plead Conscience in behalf of Immorality?

T. Yes marry do they: for there are *Turks*, *Familists*, and such as make use of your *Hints*, and reckon Fornication with *Things Strangled*, or perhaps declare freely for *Bastards* and the *Propagation of Immortal Souls*; There's a Sett of Clergy, who profess Conscience in that very thing of *Perjury*, and yet, as you observe, make nothing of an *Oath*; and why is not he as *Tolerable*, who swears by his *Saviour*, as he that denies him; so that your Account of some certain People, who serve the *Devil* more freely, than others do God, is, with submission, arrant Nonsense: For upon the Supposition of a *General Toleration*, whatever a Man *Worships*, is his *God*, and tho' that *God* may to his Neighbour seem a *Devil*, yet 'tis not Charity in him to call it so: for by this System there is no *Devil*, since he may be lawfully worship'd somewhere, and consequently *Deify'd*.

P. Now I begin to *snook* some of the Reasons, *Tim*, why your Church is so kind to Immorality.

T. But

Chap. VII.

T. But you had better let those Reasons alone, for I can assure you they are against you: and since the Establish'd Church, has all the Temporal Encouragements on its side, the wicked will of course resort to it, all but the *Hypocrites*, and their proper Sphere is a *Conventicle*: For the wicked, not valuing any Religion, will certainly be of that which is most *Beneficial*: but 'tis the way of *Hereticks*, to appear *Moral* and *Rigid*: otherwise, their Design would miscarry, and the whole Farce be expos'd at first view; Now, let but your *General Toleration* take place, and Immorality will soon be predominant: for the Church must never punish a disorderly Member, because he'll presently take Sanctuary among her Enemies: and therefore when some People cry out to the Church, to punish Immorality, which they cannot do for want of Power, 'tis as if the *French King* should desire the *Duke of Marlborough* not to punish his *Soldiers* for deserting, but yet to be very severe upon 'em for *Whoring* and *Robbing Henroosts*, when at the same time he himself allows *free Plunder*, and holds *Fornication* to be *Venial*.

P. Why, Tim, do all Schismatics encourage Immorality?

T. No, but some sort of Schism is the same thing with Immorality: where's the difference between being drunk with *Enthusiasm*, or with *new Wine*? the former Reels, Staggers, Foams, and is at his Wits end, as well as the latter, is as much a *Monster*, but far more mischievous: for the jolly Toper may perhaps break a few Windows, or demolish here and there a *Lanthorn*, whilst the other tumbles down *Thrones* and



and Empires, sets the World on fire before Chap. VII.  
its time; and as for *Oaths and Curses*: Can  
*Wainscoat* Consecrate 'um any more than *Claret*? or are they less Orthodox in a *red Coat*,  
than in a *Black*? then for *Adultery*: Schism is  
of the *worst* sort, the *Adultery* of the *Soul*:  
and what is *Libertinism* in Opinion, even ac-  
cording to the *inspir'd Phrase*, but Religious  
Fornication, and *going a Whoring after our own*  
*Inventions*.

P. I believe, *Tim*, by and by, we shall have  
thee prove it to be Idolatry, and that *our* Schif-  
maticks worship a different God from the  
Church.

T. I tell you, *Phil*, I am talking all this  
while of *your* Dissenters, such as are crept in  
by your *General Act of Toleration*; As for our  
God, he is in Heaven, where he reigns as a  
King: he is not the same, which Mr. *Baxter* • See his  
describes with his Attendants: He is a God of Saints E-  
Order, and not of Confusion: He is a *Lord* a verlasting  
*Monarch*, we know of no *Cabal* of Deities, Rest. 1<sup>st</sup>.  
neither do we think him to be the same, Edition.  
which some People look for upon their *Tren-*  
*cher*, and others among the *small-guts*, or in  
the *Anatomy* of a *Quietist*; But what of all  
that? the Difference is not altogether so mate-  
rial: for that Learned Casuist, Mr. *Def—*, in  
his Pious Exhortation to a strict Observance  
of the *Union*, bids the *Church* and *Dissenters*,  
by the Example of the Men of *Tarsus*, *Call*  
*upon their Gods*: *No matter what Gods*: says he,  
so they call upon some: the Deity, it seems,  
being, in his Opinion, a mere *form* and *Cere-*  
*mony*.

P. I protest, *Tim*, these Schismaticks and  
I Here-

Chap. VIII. Hereticks are nothing in thy Hands : I believe  
 by and by, thou wilt make every one of 'um a  
*Devil.*

T. Still they are *your* Hereticks, *Phil* : and most certainly there are Heretical *Devils*, as well as Heretical *Gods* : and how do we know, which you mean, where *all* Religions are *Tolerated* ? but as for our *Devil*, I can assure you he was a *Heretick* from the Beginning, and for breeding a *Division* in the *sacred Hierarchy*, was excommunicated the *Church Triumphant* ; nay what is *Damnation* it self, but a *Dividing* from the *Church* for ever, without hopes of *Reconciliation* ?

P. That's my pretty *Tim* ! thou hast perform'd to a *Miracle*.

T. Why this 'tis, *Phil*, to have large Thoughts : for when all's said, 'tis that must do the Trick : Your *narrow Thinker* confines himself to *one Law*, contents himself with half his *Duty*, with the *Moral Law* without the *Reveal'd* and *Political* : but *large Thoughts* comprehend 'um all : and if any be to be dispenc'd with, be sure 'tis not the *Divine* : that were to prefer the *less* before the greater, or in the *Scripture Phrase*, to *strain at Gnats, and swallow Camels* ; Now let us but apply this System of a *General Toleration* to *Civil Affairs*, and see how ridiculous a Figure it makes ; the *Moral Law* you will not dispence with, and you say well : but then you will dispence with *Church-Unity* and *Church-Government*, and for so doing, you have, you see, like *Milton*, made the *Devil* your *Hero* ; now the breach of the *Moral Law* bears the same Proportion to *Ecclesiastical Rebellion*, that *Felony* and *Burglary* do to *High-Treason* : and here, let us suppose

a few *Secular Schismatics* should arise, who taking offence at the Royal Robes, the Crown and Scepter, or not liking the Situation of *Westminster-Hall*, nor yet *St. George's Day*, should thereupon set up a *New Form* of Government, a *New Oath* of Allegiance, a *New Succession*, such as best suited their Political Consciences, however, in the mean time, most religiously observing all the Laws against *Murder* and *Robbery*, do we think the Establish'd Government would suffer this new Up-start State, and forgive 'um their *High Treason*, only because they did not *break Houses*, nor *rob* on the High-way? I'm sure if we should multiply secular Forms on this manner, and leave Men to their choice which to follow, *Robbery* and *Murder* would soon come to be in Fashion: at least, that State would be in best Credit, that gave out *Licenses* for *Levelling* and *Freebooty*; and the same is the Case where all manner of Religions are set up, and left to the choice of every private Person; the Laity will serve the several Churches, just as the *Shepherd* did the *Three Goddesses*, first make 'um show all, and expose one another's Nakedness, and then ask 'um to pay for their Votes; one, must give 'um a *Sword* and *Belt*, another, *Tap* at both *Ends*, and a Third, supply 'um with every Man his *Helen*, if they expect their favour, and heartily design to be chosen; In short, 'tis folly to think, Men will be confin'd to *Morality*, when you leave 'um their choice of *Religion*: and after this project, your calling to the Church, with that little Authority she has left, to suppress Profaness and Immorality, is it like bidding a *Country Squire*,  
I 2 suppress



Chap. VII. suppress Revels and Foot-ball-matches, Take away Guns and Grey-hounds, Put down Ale-houses and Brandy-shops, and then go about asking of Votes, and set up for Knight of the Shire.

P. Well, Tim, if they will be filthy, let 'um be filthy still: but what dost thou think of my 8<sup>th</sup> Chapter?

Chap. VIII. T. What, Helter Skelter, or the Dragon upon Bow? Why, if it will be filthy, let it be filthy still; but methinks now, this Chapter begins very smartly: when it gives out, that the Clergy's pretending to an Independent Power, has been the Occasion of Infinite Mischiefs to the Christian World: since the Clergy's pretending to Christianity, has been altogether as mischievous; and truly, to see the true Religion do a World of Mischief, would not so much vex a Man: but to see Folk Fight and Quarrel, and do an infinite deal of Mischief, for a Religion, that's not worth a cut Finger, is the Devil.

P. But what follows?

T. Ay, what indeed? viz. that 'tis utterly inconsistent with the Happiness of Human Societies; Now, if this be prov'd, there's no need of t'other: unless, you have a mind to let the World see, that you can double your Demonstrations: for, if it be utterly inconsistent with the Happiness of Human Societies, it cannot fail of doing infinite Mischief not only to the Christian World, but to all the Worlds that ever were, or will be.

P. But the Reasons! Tim, the Reasons! the Clergy, you see, contend, that all other Orders should be subject to the Supream, why then do they except their own?

T. Pri-

T. Prithee, *Phil*, do but give the Clergy as Chap. VIII. fair Play as the Laity, and I'll warrant they shift for themselves; when they held Passive Obedience and Non-resistance, yet they still held it as consistent with Independent Right: and 'twas not the Clergy's *holding* that Doctrine, but the Sovereign's *Commenting* upon it and *extending* it too far, that did the Mischief; And if even now, notwithstanding the Oath of Supremacy, the Mayor of *Birmingham*, the Dover Carrier, and Cobler of *Aylesbury*, have all their Independent Rights, Why should not the Parson too? for without troubling the *Fathers* or *School-men*, he can make Supremacy and Property consistent, as well as the *Monarch* of the *Stall*, or *Ruler* of the *Sessions*.

P. But have not the Clergy the Education of our Youth committed to their Care? are they not permitted to Harangue the Parish *Twice* every Week, and are thereby qualify'd to Tutor and Manage us as they please?

T. As for Schooling, *Phil*: if they really teach their Lads, to renounce the *Justice*, and abjure the *Constable*, and administer Oaths of *Ecclesiastical Allegiance*, in the Name of the *Three Estates*, *Parson*, *Clarke*, and *Sexton*: and if this be the staple Doctrine of *Lily*, and the first Principle of *Corderius*: then, say I, let the Vicar be depos'd from his Elbow Chair: His *Ferula* seiz'd and confiscate, and let the Constable set up his *Academy*, and the Tything-man being *Usher*, let *Amo* and *Tutor* for ever flourish and abound; And as for Preaching and Haranguing in every Parish *Twice* a Week at least, if you are sure that's a Right Ac-

Chap. VIII count, unless perhaps you have a spite against the *Psalms*, and a design upon the *First* and *Second Lesson*, and reckon them as part of the Harangue, provided they don't preach Mutiny, or beat up for *Volunteers*, or what some People reckon to be as bad, found a Cessation of Arms, let 'um e'en go on, say I: They who do harangue the Parishes and Nations, to these and much worse Purposes, have your most gracious Leave and Toleracion; Alas! can you pretend to be a *Whigg* and *Lowchurchman*, and yet complain of *Two Sermons a Week*? Are you one of the *godly Parry*, and yet would discountenance a *Painful* and *Zea-*lous Ministry? Even let the Haranguers harangue, and the Preachers preach: since if they preach false Doctrines, you and I have lately discover'd such a rare Devise to be even with 'um.

R. But still, suppose they should preach false Doctrines: for instance, if they should say, that they who obey the Magistrate, obey only Man: but they who obey the Priest, obey God: how easily might they then conclude, that 'tis better to obey God than Man?

T. But then suppose they never did preach any such Doctrine, nor ever design to do: May we not let 'um preach on to the End of the *Chapter*? For here now you and I differ: if such Doctrines be preach'd, I am for having the Preacher before his *Betters*, and punishing him for his Rains: but if he comes before you, he pleads *Conscience*, and you grant him free License and Toleracion to go on as he pleases: and that not only for setting the Priest above the Magistrate, but the People



ple above *both*; so that they who preach, Chap. VIII.  
 that neither God nor Man are to be obey'd,  
 may yet plead the Benefit of your *Statute*.

P. Come! Come! *Tim*, let there be no  
 shifting: If the Power of admitting Men in-  
 to the Church did belong to the Clergy, they  
 might by prescribing what Terms of Com-  
 munion they pleas'd, make both the Lives  
 and Fortunes of the Laity to be at their dis-  
 posal.

T. That is, provided they could bring the  
*Sureties* at the *Font*, to engage in due Form of  
 Law, for every Infant who is brought thither,  
 that he should, when arriv'd at years of Dis-  
 cretion, swear *Supremacy* to the *Archbishop*,  
 and *Faalty* to his *Parson*, and at his Death *set-  
 tle* all upon the *Church*; But as the Case now  
 stands, and I do not see any likelihood of its  
 being alter'd, they'll find it a very hard mat-  
 ter, to pick any extraordinary Advantages  
 out of the *Apostle's* Creed, unless they have  
 your allowance, according to *Circumstances*, to  
 alter here and there an Article for *Noverint*  
*Universi*—, or, *This Indenture*, or, *I promise*  
*to pay*—and then indeed, 'twould be very  
 pleasant to see a Lawyer prove *Heresy* to be  
*Breach of Covenant*; or a *Parson* sue for *Da-  
 mages*, upon the *Breach of the Baptismal Vow*.

P. And then, as to Ceremonies; they must  
 not be left to the Clergy: since, the Intro-  
 ducing *New*, or Retaining *Old* Customs, if  
 contrary to the Inclinations of the People,  
 will create great Disturbances; and therefore,  
*Bishop Stillingfleet* observes, that the least Peg  
 in the *Church*, skrew'd up too High, puts all  
 in Disorder: If *Phaetons* drive the Chariot of  
 the

Chap. VIII. the *Sun*, the World will be soon on Fire.

*T.* Well, but now if the People have a mind to be disturb'd with Ceremonies: may they not as well be disturb'd with those the *State* imposes, as those that are injoin'd by the *Church*? and if some are disturb'd with the *New* Ceremonies, and some with the *Old*, how can Disturbances be avoided, unless they'll acquiesce in the Publick Authority that imposes them? Besides, what regard, think you, is to be had to those People, that will create Disturbances, only for a *Ceremony*? And then, how careful ought we to be, not to alter any Ceremonies, notwithstanding the Inclinations of the People, if, as Bp. *Stillingfleet* observes, the least Peg in the Church skrew'd up too high puts all into disorder; he is there speaking against Disorders in the Church, and is this brought to prove 'um lawful and warrantable? and by a Man too, that turns the whole Church upside down? certainly, so great a Man, was never quoted to so little purpose; If the World must be set on fire by a *Phaeron's* driving the Chariot of the *Sun*, what would become of it, if the *Sun* it self were extinguish'd? E'en let the Church alone, *Phil.* Her Pegs are in pretty good Order, and she makes indifferent Musick: if any thing be amiss, 'tis your Understanding, which is a Peg too Low.

*P.* I declare against Ecclesiastical Monopolies, as the worst sort; should we but allow the Clergy, *This*, that no *Baptism* could be valid, unless administer'd by such and such a *Water*, which they only could Consecrate: they might dispose of us and our Effects, as they pleas'd.

*T.* Now

T. Now to me that same *Baptismal Water* is no more a Monopoly, than my *Shoes*, or your *Square Cap*: nay, hardly so much: 'Tis true, the *Water* is to be had only of the Clergy: So are my *Shoes* only of the *Shoe-maker*, and your *Wigg* only of a *Barber*; But then, here's the Hank: if the *Barber* won't Part with his *Wigg*, nor the *Shoe-maker* with his *Shoes*, we won't part with our Money: and if the *Parson* won't give my Son his *Holy Water*; I won't give him my *Tythes*: for I have as much Divine Right to *one*, as he has to *T'other*: and then let me see these *Monopolists*, live as well upon *Shoes*, *Wiggs*, and *Water*, as we can without 'um; No, *Phil*! if the *Parson* should deny me his Monopoly upon the old *statutable* Terms, I can set him aside, and take another that will.

P. Ah! *Tim*, if once the Clergy can persuade People, they are necessary to their Salvation, and that what is given to them, is given to the Lord, and the best Method to atone for Sin, adding withal, that they are capable of receiving every thing, and parting with nothing: they may, as *Schoppius* says, Bridle us, Saddle us, and Ride us whither they please.

T. Now, were I, by a certain *Figure* in *Rhetorick*, commonly call'd an *Hyperbole*, to set forth the Glory, the Power, and Might, of the *High* and *Renowned*, the *Beggars*, *Lazars*, and *Cripples* of *Great Britain*: Laying aside all *Resumptions*, *Statutes* of *Mortmain*, and other secular *Cheques*, I would represent: That, they are necessary to our Salvation, as Objects of our Charity: that what is given to them,

is



Chap. VIII. is given to the Lord, and the best Method to atone for Sin: that they are capable of receiving all things, and can part with nothing: and so, whip! I hoist 'um into the Saddle, and conclude with *Schoppin*, that they'll Bridle us, and Spur us: for when once they are mounted, you know, they are famous for riding farther than other Folks, by I know not how much:

\* Set a Beg-  
on Horse-  
back, &c.

P. Prithee, *Tim!* do but trace the Steps of the Roman Power: how by multiplying the Sacraments, by increasing the Numbers of the Religious, by making the Absolution of a Priest necessary to Salvation, and by commuting Penance for Money, they have intirely enslav'd the Laity, and got the whole Power to themselves.

T. Ay, but now the *Bracmans*, *Druids*, and *Gymnosophists*, go at least a Hop and a Stride beyond these same *Papists*: For, by claiming the first Night with the Bride, by sacrificing Men, and dealing with the Devil, they have ingross'd all the young Girls, old Women, and elder Brothers in the Nation; Now, what's all this to the Protestant Parsons? they, poor Men, have none of these fine Tricks to live by; and therefore, I hope, you'll supply 'um elsewhere: for I can assure you, they deserve as much as e'er a *Druid* or *Bracman* of 'um all.

P. For what Reason is it, that *Italy* and other *Popish* Countries, are so poor and miserable, but because of the Power and Greatness of the Clergy? and why is *Venice* in so much better a Condition, but because they have reduc'd their Exorbitancy? 'Tis this makes *Holland* so flourish-

flourishing; And good reason is there for Chap. VIII.  
 their being reduc'd: for, as the Author to the  
*Supplement of Dr. Burnet's Letters* draws their  
 Character, *Priests are of a narrow Spirit, a*  
*lower Mind, and of an unrelenting Heart: void*  
*of Compassion and all the Principles of Human*  
*Nature.*

T. Now to me, it seems a very difficult  
 thing, to compare Nations and Countries to-  
 gether: and for all that I know, there may be  
 as fine *Houses*, as good *Gardens*, as much *Com-*  
*pany*, and as many *Fiddles* in *Italy*, as here in  
*Great Britain*: and if the *Italian* Priests are  
 rich, if the *Italian* Jesuits understand Mer-  
 chandize and Traffick and thrive well by't:  
 why then, the *Italians* are rich and thriving:  
 only, they have some Poor amongst 'um, and  
 so 'tis, where the *Courtiers*, the *Soldiers*, the  
*Sea-men*, or the *Merchants* are rich: and for  
 my part, I see no reason, why a Man may not  
 as well thrive by *Voluntary Contributions*, as by  
 30 per Cent: by *false Doctrines* as well as by  
*false Measures*: by *enriching the Church*, as  
 well as by *plundering the State*: by *getting*  
*Church-Lands*, as well as by *taking them away*;  
 Now, if *England* be free from these Troubles,  
 and in a flourishing and happy State: then,  
 'tis plain, the Independent Rights of the  
 Clergy, which still remain amongst us not-  
 withstanding all you have said, are notoriously  
 consistent with the Happiness of Human So-  
 cieties. I am sorry, we have one thing, which  
 the *Popish* Countries want, and that's *Faction*  
 and *Disorder*: with which, however we may  
 grow *wealthy*, 'tis absolutely impossible we  
 should be intirely *Happy*. As to that modest

Chap. VIII. Character given of the Clergy, by the *Author* you have quoted : it belongs wholly to the *Popish* Priests, and therefore one would think the *Protestant* Priests, who are so much better than they, should be a little better rewarded ; Had that Character been Universal, I dare swear, that *Ingenious Bishop* would no more have suffer'd it to be annex'd to his *Letters*, than to have been written under his *Picture*.

P. But now, *Tim* ! how was it, that this great *Alteration* here at home was brought about ? was it not by curbing the Power of the Clergy ? which some amongst us endeavour to restore, and thereupon traduce and vilifie our Reverend *Bench of Bishops*, for not coming in to their arbitrary Projects and Designs.

T. What the State Enacted, *Phil*, I know not : but 'twas the Church that reason'd, and argu'd for the *Reformation* ; What *Proofs*, what *Demonstrations*, what *Texts*, are there in *Poulton* and *Keble* ? Can you find any thing in *Elsing* or *Joderel*, comparable to *Laud* and *Jewel* ? No, *Phil*. 'twas the Church that argu'd, and prov'd, and dy'd and suffer'd, and restor'd us to the true Primitive Standard : and in that State the Government has establish'd it, and the *Bishops* maintain it, and whatever you may imagine they differ about, depend upon't, *you* and *your* Notions are no part of the Quarrel ; for in that respect, you have the greatest reason in the World to believe 'um unanimous.

P. Nay, *Tim*, Truth is not to be hearken'd to, where the Clergy prevail with their persecuting Doctrines : by which, they depopulate Kingdoms, destroy Property, and Conscience :  
this :



this the Heathens would never do, for their Chap. VIII.  
Superstitious Notions and Worship: But what Wars, what Massacres, and Persecutions, have the Papiſts carry'd on and manag'd, both here in *England*, and in other Parts of *Europe*?

T. As to the *Holy Wars* of the *Heathens*: you tell us indeed, that you find none of 'um in *Thucydides*, tho' I can direct you where you may have your Belly full; however, I must needs own, they would have been very much in the wrong, to have fought about any such matter; but now, will it follow from hence, that there is no Ecclesiastical Punishment, but what is Persecution? for instance, suppose an Opposer of the Truth, that is, of the *Protestant Church*, that being the trueſt we can any where hear of, should arise, and spread new Doctrines, and gather Multitudes, and argue, and dispute, and justify his Opinions the best he can: questionless, to fall upon such a one at first hearing, without giving him fair play for his Defence, and time for his Conviction, is *Persecution*: But when such a one has been long suffer'd to go on with his Arguments, fully heard, and reply'd to, the World left at liberty to judge, and yet a very great Majority against him: Surely the Magistrate may strike, and, in your terms, *cut him off from the Society*; But Ecclesiastical Obstina- cy is much more tolerable than Civil, and some of our Disputes, God knows, have been much longer depending than a *Suit in Chancery*. 'Tis easy indeed for an Author, to draw very terrible Landscips and frightful Scenes of a *Holy War*: and yet after all, 'tis but burning a few Houses, cutting some Thousands of Throats,

Chap. VIII. Throats, and opening here and there a Vein of Blood; But all this must have an End, and War being an *Appeal to Heaven*, 'tis ten to one, but Right takes place at last tho' it be long first: Whereas, in a Mixture of Religions, where the Quarrel is never to be decided, the *Holy War* must last for ever: that Nation must always be in Flames of Malice and Faction, Men's Everlasting Interest ruin'd, their Souls Massacr'd and Destroy'd, and the Devil alone the Gainer.

P. What dost thou think, *Tim.* of the Celibacy of the Clergy?

T. Why really, *Phil*, tho' it be arrant Popery, yet according to your Account of Matters, I think it absolutely necessary; for here you have gone and taken away all *Tythes* from 'um, both *Great* and *Small*, and so left 'um to starve: Now if they must starve, let 'um starve alone, say I: why should they get Wives and Children? Can they subsist upon *Homilies*? Or will *St. Austin* board 'um? For tho' it be written, that *Man cannot live by Bread alone*, yet neither can he live handsomely without it; 'Tis true, the *Papists* are very much in the Wrong, for injoining *Celibacy* to their Clergy, because they are all Rich and Powerful, might match to advantage, make Alliances with the best Families, and thereby very much advance the Wealth and Interest of the Church; And I am very well contented the Poor *Protestant* Clergy should be admitted to this Privilege, provided, when you had taken their *Tythes* from the Parson you'd let the *Good Woman*, his Ecclesiastical Consort, walk the Neighbourhood round once a Day, with a Child

Child in her Arms, another at her back, and Chap.VIII.  
 a Brace in her Belly, to preach Charity by  
 Deputation from her Husband, and to gather  
 up such *Carnal* Comforts for the Good Man in  
 the Study, as the Parish can afford according  
 to Primitive Precedent: as well knowing, that  
 he is hard *at it* against the Next *Sunday*, and  
 will then amply repay 'um with *Spiritual* Food,  
 and invite 'um all to the *Great Dinner in the*  
*Gospel.*

P. No, no, *Tim!* 'Tis not for these silly  
 Considerations, that I condemn *Celibacy*, but  
 because Religion consists rather in *regulating*  
 than *extinguishing* our Inclinations: for the  
 Desire of Propagation being Implanted in  
 Man by God, Abstaining from it, is a Mortal  
 Sin, Self-Murder only worse: It would soon  
 make the World cease, and hinder the Propa-  
 gation of Immortal Souls.

T. Why then, I perceive, there cannot be  
 according to you any such Creatures, as in a  
*Certain Book* we read of, viz. <sup>h</sup> *Eunuchs for the* <sup>h</sup> Mat. 19.  
*Kingdom of Heaven*: and <sup>i</sup> *St. Paul* was very <sup>i</sup> 2.  
 much in the Wrong, in preferring *Celibacy* before <sup>i</sup> 1 Cor. 16.  
 Marriage, even upon a Religious Account:  
 and you certainly believe he had done more  
 like a *Christian*, to have propagated a few Im-  
 mortal Souls one way or other; mistake me  
 not, *Phil*: I think 'tis folly to make Vows a-  
 gainst that, which we cannot prevent, and for  
 which there is a Remedy provided: but un-  
 less you'll allow Community of Women, or  
 get a Law, that every Young Girl should be  
 good natur'd, and comply at *first* asking,  
 which, I can assure you, would save *Decorums*,  
*Love-letters*, and a World of trouble besides,



Chap. VIII. I see not how you can possibly bring off *the* *Batchelors*, so as to allow 'um in a State of Salvation; for suppose now, it is my Misfortune, to be very ugly, as you don't know but it may: and tho' I have never so good an Inclination, yet I can't find a *She*, that will take it off my Hands: Or suppose my Inclination is wholly towards one Particular Female, as you know there are Constant Fools in the World as well as Wanderers: Such an Inclinaaion I can't help, and you'll say, 'tis perhaps well regulated, for it may be, my *Mistress* is a *Beauty*, or a *Wit*, or a *Fortune*, or *All*: Now here am I under a Necessity of Sinning, that is, of *abstaining*, unless there be a Law to *Pimp* for me, and to make her as kind as *Cloe*, and that all *Maidenheads*, like those in *Wales*, shall be *had for asking*; What were our Forefathers, for giving us such Irreligious Notions, <sup>k</sup> *Not to look on a Maid*: <sup>l</sup> *Not to Lust after her*: <sup>m</sup> *Not to commit Fornication, no not in the Heart*? Whereas, *Rakes* and *Rovers*, provided they keep themselves *sound*, are the only true *Christians*: for by your Arguments, not only the *extinguishing*, but even the *Regulating* our Lust, especially the *Matrimonial* Regulation, is absolutely unlawful: for if Propagating an Immortal Soul, be the Real End and Vertue of Natural Inclination, in the Manner you make it, that is, if an Immortal Soul can be *propagated*, which I much Question: then certainly, the more Immortal Souls a Man propagates, the more faithfully he serves both Church and State: Now, in Marriage, 'tis plain he can propagate but *Once* a Year, which must needs be Wrong: because in that

time,

<sup>k</sup> Job. 31.

<sup>l</sup> Prov. 6.

<sup>m</sup> Mat. 5.

28.

time, he might have improv'd his Talent Chap. VIII.  
much better, and got I know not how many  
*Bastards*: and I do not find by any Philoso-  
pher yet extant, but that they have Immortal  
Souls, as well as *Heirs apparent*; I wonder in-  
deed, all the *Green Girls*, and *Ravenous Wi-*  
*dows* in the Kingdom, being convinc'd of the  
Weight of your Arguments, do not get toge-  
ther and humbly represent, in behalf of them-  
selves and other poor Sufferers, that by reason  
of the great Neglect, *Profane Backwardness*,  
and *Immoral Chastity* of the Age, they are  
under an indispensible Necessity of being utterly  
ruin'd, and undone, without speedy relief:  
and therefore, for as much as they find them-  
selves well inclin'd, to the great and Funda-  
mental Duty of propagating Immortal Souls,  
they humbly pray, that such and such *Batta-*  
*lions*, or *Squadrons*, may be speedily order'd to  
their relief, for the better encouragement of  
Piety and Morality, and for the Increase and  
Propagation of an Immortal Progeny; This  
now, would be something towards a *Reformati-*  
*on*: but then tho' you oblige the Sex by pro-  
curing Gallants for 'um all, yet because you  
are for Improving all Opportunities of Gene-  
ration, therefore you must make all Pleasure  
after Conception, to be unlawful, so long as  
there's a *Maidenhead* left in the Parish: which,  
tho' it may be Nutts to the *Barren*, yet 'twill  
no more pass with the Rest, than *David Jones's*  
*Doctrine of a Matrimonial Lent*. As to the  
Putting an End to the World, 'tis such a vile  
World, one would hardly think it worth the  
Continuing: nay, I can Name a Religion to  
you, and such a one, as you your self have  
K been

Chap. VIII.

See the  
Service for  
the Dead,  
in the En-  
glish Litur-  
gy.

See the  
Rana.

been pleas'd to tolerate, where Folks are taught to pray for its Dissolution: so that, if this be all your Reason against *Sodomy*, tho' it be contrary to Nature, yet 'tis very agreeable to Religion by your Way of Argument: and then, with *Aristophanes*, you may readily damn him to *Styx*, that baulks his *Catamite*; In short, *Phil*, there's no such thing as extinguishing our Lust: 'tis not to be done by a Monastery or a *Seraglio*, all we can do is to regulate 'um: and if other Methods fail, Marriage is the establish'd Remedy: but doubtless, others are lawful, as well as this: Lust is the Itch and Scurf of the Soul, which like that of the Body, every Man cures of himself if he can, without applying to any Body else: his last recourse, if he cannot, is to the Doctor and *Pothecary*: by which, tho' he encourages Trade, promotes Learning, and helps Mortal Bodies, and, by your Consequence, Immortal Souls to a Subsistence, yet doubtless, none of these Considerations do make it a Mortal Sin, to spread *Plaisters* at Home, and to keep a little *Diaculum* constantly in the Family.

P. Then, there's that Custom of the *Papists*, of vowing a Recluse Monastick Life: and what are their *Fryars*, and *Regular* Clergy, but so many Drones and Lazars: a Burden, and Nuisance to the Commonwealth? Whereas, Religion was design'd not for God, but for Men: to make 'um more Social, to increase the Happiness of a State, and is indeed the same with the Good and Benefit of Mankind.

T. Lookye, *Phil*, Solitude and Company, Riches and Poverty, Celibacy and Marriage,

do



do become either Sinful or a Duty, as Men Chap. VIII.  
 takes care to regulate them; and therefore, the *Papists* are in the Wrong, to bind them-  
 selves either Way by a Vow, or to set up a  
 new Religious System, of Going to Heaven  
 without Company; Riches, no doubt, may  
 be a Blessing, but they are to be thrown away,  
 where they prove an Irresistible Temptation;  
 Man, no doubt, is a Sociable Creature, and  
 Commerce and Conversation, are the first  
 Pleasures of Life: but then there's no Divine  
 Right in *Clubs* and *Coffee houses*, nor any Reli-  
 gious Worship in attending the *Exchange*: for  
 if Good Company be not to be had, or if  
 Conversation prove an Unavoidable Occasion  
 of Evil to any one, *that* Person is indispensa-  
 bly oblig'd to *Retire*; 'Twas for some such  
 Reason as this, that the <sup>P</sup> *Good Woman* in the <sup>P</sup> *Luke 2.*  
 Gospel, continu'd *Night and Day in the Temple*: 36.  
 whereas, *your* Gospel would have sent her to  
 her *Spinning*, or mounted her on the *Grey-*  
*Mare* a Marketing; 'Tis true indeed, Religi-  
 on was design'd to better Mankind, both in  
 his Private and Publick Interest: and yet it  
 will not follow, that our Religion and our  
 Temporal Interest are always the same: *This*  
 would make the Richest Man and greatest Po-  
 litician to be always the best *Christian*; Nay,  
 the Putting those famous Cases, of <sup>P</sup> *Parting with* <sup>P</sup> *Mat. 19.*  
*Houses, Lands, Father, and Mother, and Wife,* 29.  
*and all for the Sake of Religion,* do shew, that <sup>P</sup> *Mark 13.*  
 there are some Duties set apart from our <sup>P</sup> *Ordinary* 12.  
 Business, distinct from it, and design'd  
 purely for God's Service; Not, that he wants  
 our Service and Duty, but to keep us in a per-  
 petual Dependence on him; as for Instance,

Chap. VIII.

See the  
Service for  
the Dead,  
in the En-  
glish Litur-  
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Chap. VIII. *Prayer*, and the *Observation* of the *Sabbath*, are of this Sort: If our Interest were our only Religion, there would be no Reason why the Hours of Prayer might not be more religiously spent in the *Shop*, and the Market to be kept on *Sunday*; and just thus was it among the *Jews*, where God accepted the *Blood of Bulls* and of *Goats* for real Worship: whereas, had their Religion been the same thing with their Interest, they might much better have sold 'um to some *Grazier* among the *Gentiles*, than have given 'um away *Gratis* to the Tribe of *Levi*.

P. 'Tis endless, *Tim*, to reckon up the great Mischiefs, which the Pretences of Church-power have done the Government: this was the Reason of Opposing *Corporations* for the *Poor*: because the Clergy were sensible, that such would be manag'd by *Sober Dissenters*, whom they despair'd of bringing over to their side: and yet you see, what good these Corporations have done at *Bristol*.

T. Now I'll lay a *Pot* and a *Cake*, I give a few better Reasons for't than that: for *First*, The Low-churchmen oppos'd it as being destructive to the *Honest Trader*. *Secondly*, We have in the Church as *Sober Men* as the *Dissenters*, and consequently, as well qualify'd for the Trust. *Thirdly*, We do not despair of reclaiming the *Dissenters*, because they are *Sober*, but because they are *Dissenters*. *Fourthly*, if we should let the *Dissenters* Govern our *Poor*, 'twould give 'um such an Interest in the Mob, that by your Scheme of *Politics*, they would be soon brought to Govern the Rich. *Fifthly*, and *Lastly*, the *Corporations* for the *Tory Poor*, do as much Good as the

Corpo-

*Corporations for the Whiggish Poor: for both Whig and Tory hold it lawful to do Good.* Chap. VIII.

P. Was not this made the Reason for opposing a *General Naturalization*, at least, of all *Protestants*?

T. It may be one Reason for all that I know, and a very good one too: because, as you have order'd Matters, there may be *Protestants* that are no *Christians*; But besides, you see whatever your *General Project* may be, the State will chuse, and the Church speaks aloud for their Maintenance: and who but Churchmen, were heretofore so zealous for the Relief of the *French Protestants*? Nay, we are for a *Naturalization* that you always oppos'd, for State and Church being united, we would have those that are *Naturaliz'd* into one, be also *Naturaliz'd* into t'other. See Dr. Hicks, and other Churchmen on that Subject.

P. This was the Reason, *Tim*, why the *Northern Counties* were not suffer'd to be in Arms and upon their Guard, when the *Scots* were up.

T. I am afraid that's a Mistake: if you consider the *Scots* as Enemies, 'tis not a Church Reason, when they are up, to leave us unguarded; Perhaps, there might be a Suspicion, that the *Northern Countries* would unite before their Time; Or it may be, the thing must run thus: When the *Scots* were in Arms and we Naked, that was a Reason to induce us to Peace, and so cunningly brought about the Union.

P. Not so, *Tim*: 'twas the Church oppos'd it.

T. How, *Phil*, can that Church, which professes one Faith, one Baptism, and would as

Chap. VIII. you say, Down with all *Dissenters*, be against an Union? No, they are against Union, who are for General Tolerations, Comprehensions, and Naturalizations, which would multiply *One Church* into *Five Hundred*; Besides, I would fain know, if the Churchmen had not consented, how you could have had *any Union* at all, much less a *Happy* one, without 'um?

P. And Prithee, *Tim*, why should the Church be so violently set against a Comprehension? Since all the *Dissenters*, the *Presbyterians* only excepted, are by their Principles incapable of being the National Church, and all *they* can desire, is to be upon the Level.

T. But then here the *Tories* interpose, with some of their unlucky Reasons: and *First*, They say, whatever the *Dissenters* Principles be, yet by Practical Observation it appears, they do not always stick to 'um: and 'tis this very thing, that gives us Hopes of their Amendment. *Secondly*, as to secular Power and Government, the *Quakers*, who most disclaim it in *one Country*, do yet religiously observe it in *another*: so that, change of Climates can make change of Principles, like a Toad transported to *Inland*. *Thirdly*, if the *Presbyterians* desire to be upon the Level, then they desire to have *two Independent Powers in the same Society*: Of the Dangers of which State, I refer you for an Account, to an *Author*, a Friend of mine, in his *Rights of the Christian Church*, the first Chapter and Introduction. *Lastly*, Such a Nice Division of Power, supposing it possible, must needs make a very Notable Distinction between *Protestant* and *Protestant*: and yet some two or three Paragraphs off, you your self are



are of Opinion, that all such Distinctions are  
*the High-road to Popery.*

P. Now, for my Part, *Tim*, I am ever now  
 and then for altering Church Government, on  
 purpose to keep the Clergy in awe.

T. Right! And by the same Rule, altering  
 the *Secular Form*, would keep our Governors  
 in awe, and prevent Tyranny; but then come  
 the *Logick-Men* with their *Tory Arguments*  
 again, and they make it out, that the Form of  
 Government is in the Hands of the Governors,  
 and then, either they must alter it themselves,  
 that is, depose themselves and turn themselves  
 out, which is Ten to One if they'll do: or  
 else, they must be turn'd out by some other  
 Governors set over them for that Purpose, and  
 these again by others, and so on in *Infinitem*:  
 which will make this same Notion as Ridicu-  
 lous as that of the Ancients, *Quicquid Movetur*  
*Movetur ab alio*, Which, in a true levelling  
 System, destroys all the Worlds that ever were  
 or will be, *Ptolomie's*, *Copernicus's*, and *Tychb*  
*Brabe's*, by effectually suppressing the *Primum*  
*Mobile*.

P. but supposing all this: yet, if the Good  
 of the State be the Grand Rule, I can see no  
 Necessity for a *Religious Test*.

T. Oh! For that very Reason, 'tis abso-  
 lutely Necessary; for, the Church being uni-  
 ted, or as you would have it, being the same  
 with the State, that which is the *Grand Rule*  
 for the one, must be so of Course for the o-  
 ther.

P. I'm sure, 'tis a *Novelty*, and no older  
 than *Popery*.

T. No Matter for that: the World is Ingenious, and full of such Witty Devices; Besides, the Clergy got it in the Room of Excommunication, which you know is as Old as the *Druids of Gaul*. You allow of a *Moral Test*, why not of a *Religious one*? If a *Heathen* may be allow'd to make a *Good Magistrate*, I'll assure you I have every whit as much Hopes of a *Christian*.

P. But did *Christ*, think you, intend that the Sacrament should deprive any one of his Rights, or in any Case render the Circumstances of his Disciples worse for his sake, or bribe Men with Preferment to the unworthy receiving of the Sacrament?

T. I tell you, if bidding his Disciples part with Houses, and Lands, and Life, for his Sake or for the Sake of the Brethren, be making their Circumstances the worse for him: I believe, with good Looking, such a Case may be found; but now, to see the Kindness of the Magistrate! And how the Times are mended with Poor *Christians*! For now, instead of losing Lands, and Tenements, you may have Preferment and Places at Court given you for *Christ's* sake: and Men are brib'd, to receive it unworthily, for that any one can suppose he receives it unworthily after the *Church of England Form*, and yet be brib'd to receive it after that Form notwithstanding, is, I think, absolutely impossible. Surely, no one can be so Mad, as to scruple *Kneeling*, and yet Swallow *Hypocrisy*? That's *Superstition*, *Will-worship*, and *Popery*, with a Vengeance, to prefer the *Pasture* of the *Body*, before the *Disposition* of the *Soul*.

P. Well

P. Well, *Tim*, I see nothing will please thee Chap. VIII.  
but an establish'd Form: now, if *that* be ne-  
cessary, then there's Law enough to hang all  
the *Dissenters*: Since, the Publick Peace, ad-  
mitting the Necessity of a Form, cannot be  
preserv'd without it.

T. Ay, Marry Sir! Now the *Tory*, now  
the *Cloven Foot* appears plainly: There's the  
Devil in this Argument, *Phil*: I see *both* his  
*Horns* peeping out of the *Dilemma*; for my  
Part, I think no Form ought to be so rigidly  
follow'd, as not ever now and then to ad-  
mit of a Mitigation, but I'm against *Universal*  
*Toleration* and *Indulgence*, and throwing all  
the Fences to *Common*: a *Tender* Conscience  
well attested, ought to be handl'd as *Tenderly*;  
but then come you with your *Terrors*, and give  
out: *either a Form is not Necessary, or the Dis-*  
*senters must be hang'd*: Now, do but let me  
change the *First Proposition* for one or two of  
it's *Plainest Consequences*, and see what comes  
on't: For, if a Form be not Necessary, nei-  
ther is *Unity*: for that cannot be preserv'd  
without it; and if a Form be not Necessary,  
then frequent Changes are a Blessing to a State;  
Now, take it thus: *either Unity is not to be pre-*  
*serv'd, or the Dissenters must be hang'd*: *either*  
*Changes are a Blessing to the State, or the Dis-*  
*senters must be hang'd*; the *First*, I dare swear, no  
one will Grant: but it lyes upon you to erect  
a *Triangular Scheme*, and make the other a  
Demonstration.

P. But now! *Tim*! Now, comes the very  
Quintessence and Spirit of High-Church, the  
Doctrine of *Passive Obedience*! Now, *Tim*,  
Summon all thy Quirks, and Quibbles, and see  
if thou can'st justify this.

T. Now



Chap. VIII.

*T.* Now indeed, you have put a World of Business into my Hands, and I must try to come off it as well as ever I can: and I suppose, if I make out the following things, *First*, That you do not understand the Nature of *Passive Obedience*. *Secondly*, That you your self are a violent Assertor of it. *Thirdly*, That, according to you, the Clergy do not hold *that Doctrine*: and demonstrate *all this* clearly and fairly, without Equivocation, or Mental Reservation: then, I don't question, but to deserve *Chucks on the Chin*, and *Sugar Plumbs* without Number, and by the help of those gracious Encouragements, I shall be enabl'd to treat of the Argument *at large*, and shew how far and for what Reasons, the Clergy have really preach'd up *Passive Obedience*, and how far they stand justifiable for so doing.

*P.* I protest, *Tim*, thou open'st well, provided 'tis no *false Scent*, and thou can'st hit it off handsomly: I'll over *Hedge and Ditch* to follow thee.

*T.* In the *first place* then, I lay it down with humble submission, *that you do not understand Passive Obedience*, or, which is all one, you do not give us a right Account of it; the Design, say you, of *Passive Obedience*, is, to create *Superstition and Ignorance*, thereby to keep Men in awe and render 'em incapable of asserting their Liberty; Now the *first* of these is an Inconsistency, and the *other* a Falshood: *Superstition* is utterly inconsistent with *Absolute Monarchy*, neither is any Prince safe, where that's suffer'd to take root: For what are *Laws*, what are the *Will and Pleasure* of a Monarch

Monarch, what are Guards and Garrisons a- Chap.VIII  
gainst a People devoted to Superstition? A  
Comet, an *Earthquake*, an *Almanack*, a *Prophet*,  
a *Madman*, the *Loss* of a *Battle*, a *Report*, a  
*Rumour*, which is as a gentle Breeze, can in  
an instant stir a whole Nation, and set 'um in  
Arms against their Governors; 'Tis this keeps  
*Perkin alive*, and makes *Monmouth* Immortal;  
the *Ottoman* Court is a remarkable Instance,  
how inconsistent Superstition is with Absolute  
Monarchy, where ever now and then a meer  
Whim and Jealousie, the *Harnet* and *Gadbee* of  
Rebellion, sets the whole Nation in a Ferment,  
dethrones and Murders the *Grand Seignior*, Sa-  
crifices the Publick Peace to the Humour of a  
giddy Multitude, and makes the *Moon* a just  
*Emblem* of the unsettled State of *that* Empire;  
On the other hand, nothing can be more false,  
than that *Passive Obedience* creates Ignorance:  
For it is the constant Practice of all Absolute  
Monarchs, to encourage the study of liberal  
Arts and Sciences, on purpose to sweeten the  
Minds of their Subjects, to divert 'um from  
the sower Principles of Faction and Mutiny,  
and to preserve a due Subordination between  
the Learned and the Ignorant Mob, which is  
the very Life and Support of Monarchy; be-  
sides, where there is no room for Publick  
Bustle, and the Contention of Parties, Men of  
Course retire to themselves: This gives 'um  
frequent Opportunities for study, and makes  
it their Pleasure and Business; 'Tis true, you  
have advanc'd a Maxim, *that what is free, cau-  
ses Light*: but you would have done well, to  
have quoted *Gregory* or *Schiner* for it, or  
prov'd it by a Scheme in *Opticks*: For, to me  
now

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now, 'tis not Freedom and Roving, but a Fixedness and Intention upon the Object, that causes such a Light as best serves to distinguish Colours, Forms, and Proportion; and therefore, that *Free* discerner, who looks *Nine ways at once*, is not so regular a Judge of Objects, as he that has not that Art of *Ogling*; But, if by *Light* you mean *Knowledge*, and by *Freedom* a *Free State*, nothing is more contrary to common Observation; the great Hurry of Trade, the constant Struggle of Parties, the continual Attendance upon Ambition and a Design to be great by the slow Methods and Intricacy of Free Governments, are Eternal Hindrances to the study of Arts and Sciences: Men strive to be Rich and not Learned, and Interest, which is far from being the same thing with Learning and Wisdom, is the grand Wheel that sets the whole Machine a going; If there be any exception to this, if any Parts of Learning do really flourish in free Governments, they are *Divinity* and *Politicks*: for the first, *that* can never be said to be improv'd by mending, Botching, and continual tampering with it, which serves but to cloud and puzzle it: 'Tis your own Argument, *Phil*, therefore be as kind to it as you can; As to *Politicks*: if a Multiplicity of *Pamphlets*, an Abundance of inconsistent Schemes and improbable Projects, a whole Harvest of *Novels* and *Romances* in State Affairs, Dwarfs, Gyants, Monsters, Wind-mills and Air-castles, if *this* be indeed an Improvement of that Art, then are we all *Marchiavils*: But certainly perpetual cobbling and tampering, is a good sign of a States not being in order, and that it does not know when



when in all Probability it will be so; Nay, e- Chap. VIII.  
ven in *this Art*, Dr. *Davenant* seems to give  
the Preference to the retir'd Person, who be-  
ng an earnest *Looker on*, sees much more than  
he that's concern'd in the Hurry of the *Game*;  
so that, whatever strange Lights and Discove-  
ries you may value your self upon, it may  
still be true, what Dr. *Echard* told my Lord  
*Hallifax*, which is another of your doubty  
Quotations, *That there is Ignorance enough a-  
mong the Laity, to support the Credit of the Cler-  
gy*: and he that sees your way of reasoning,  
would certainly be of the *Doctor's* Opinion.

P. If all this be so, *Tim*: what is it, that  
made Arts and Learning flourish so in *Rome* and  
*Greece*? Was it not the Freedom of their State?  
when that ceas'd, you may see by the Writings  
of the *Fathers*, how Ignorance and Superstition  
took place; And what was it made the *Jews*  
so sottish, but their being bred to Slavery in  
*Egypt*?

T. Don't complain of the *Rabbinical* Wri-  
tings, *Phil*, for this was the way, *you say*,  
God took to *Humour* the *Jews*, and the same  
reason may justify the *Fathers* in Humouring  
the Superstitious *Gentiles*, who held *Omens*,  
*Oracles*, *Shades*, *Ghosts*, *Fables*, *Gods* and *De-  
vils* without Number; but then, I dare swear,  
there's scarce a School-boy, *Phil*, of any to-  
lerable Proficiency, but knows, that Arts and  
Sciences never flourish'd more than under the  
Despotick Reigns of the *Cæsars*, and *Athens*  
and *Corinth* were in most repute for Learning  
under a *Tyrannical*, tho' not a *Monarchical*  
Form; and 'tis plain, the frequent Shocks and  
Alterations of their Government, tho' this is  
what

Chap. VIII. what you heartily plead for, were the Ruin of Learning, in all those *Three* celebrated States; And what shall we say to a few *beggerly Brick-burners*? do we think, that such as *they*, under any form of Government, should be Philosophers and Conjurers? 'Tis enough that *Pharoah* was a Tyrant over *Egypt*, as well as over *Israel*: and yet Learning was in such a flourishing Condition at *that* time, and under *that* Tyrant, that, to instance only in *Natural Philosophy*, not all the World with all its Improvements ever since those days, could come up to the Perfection of that People: and the highest Character of the Wisdom of *Moses* and *Solomon*, which the *Holy Ghost* thinks fit to give, is, that they excell'd in all the Learning of *Egypt*: and tho' *the East* was at that time and since, esteem'd to be the most knowing Part of the Universe, and by the By, was wholly divided into absolute Monarchies, yet the Scriptures prefer the Learning of *Egypt* even to *that*.

<sup>1</sup> Acts 7.  
22.  
<sup>1</sup> I Kings  
4. 30.

P. Well, *Tim*, there's one Feat over.

T. The next was, to prove, that you your self are a violent Assertor of Absolute Monarchy and Passive Obedience; 'Tis true, no body contends so heartily for Anarchy as you do, but then, Anarchy being a mere Fairy State that never yet appear'd in Substance, at least never lasted long, 'tis impossible a Man of your Sense can like it for its own sake: Philosophers never make use of Premises, but for the sake of what follows: Now what is the Consequence of Anarchy? It naturally ends, say you, in Absolute Monarchy: and so, from a just estimate of your Wisdom and Prudence, I

con-

conclude you prefer the *End* to the *Means*, Chap. VIII. which is one of the first Principles of your Religion; And to confirm the World in this Opinion, you lay it down for a Maxim, that *our Saviour* at his coming, design'd the Governments of the World should continue as they were, that is, Those that were Tyrants, should be Tyrants still, Those that were Ravishers, Murderers, and Robbers, should be so still: Now the World was full of these at that time, and there is, it seems, nothing in the Gospel to the contrary; Then, at the coming of *our Saviour*, Absolute Monarchy had obtain'd almost every where, and so, by your Religious and *Christian* Conclusion, it must continue for ever. For what other Reason is it, that you are so lavish in the Praises of Queen *Elizabeth*? a Virago, famous for awing Parliaments, crushing *Dissenters*, and that preserv'd her *Prerogative* as sacred as her *Maidenhead*? To the same purpose is it, that you commend the little Republick of *Norcia*, for admitting none but Blockheads into their State, and such, as *can neither write nor read*: because, Ignorance, as you observe, is the great Support of Tyranny and Passive Obedience; had you not been inclin'd that way, you could never have instanc'd in *Denmark*, for an Absolute Government: If it be, it was made so by the People, and they voted it: Now the Election of the People, is, with you, so sacred a Sanction, that you cannot disown the Settlement, when you acknowledge the Powers that made it; *Lastly*, your calling *Muscovy* a *Protestant* Country, is a sure Sign, that that reform'd People do hold all the



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the Essential and Fundamental Articles of the Protestant Religion, and differ only in the *external Form*: Now the very first Article of their *Creed*, is, That their *Czar* is the Supreme Interpreter of Scripture, and ought to be obey'd as God: according to which Rule, Passive Obedience is a truly Orthodox and Protestant Principle; Now, if you are for *Passive Obedience* you must be a *Papist* of Course: You know, 'tis a *Low-Church* conclusion: and that you are so, is I think pretty plain from that Confession of your Faith, that 'tis *not Popery*, as such, but only *Passive Obedience*, that makes a State Unhappy: Now, this proves you to be both for *Passive Obedience*, and Popery too, for abstracting *Passive Obedience* and admitting *Transubstantiation*, *Worship of Images*, *Praying in an unknown Tongue*, &c. they, that can impose these, must be Tyrants of course, and these, without *Passive Obedience*, are enough to make a State unhappy, provided it has any regard for Religion: for which, it seems, you have very little, since you only renounce *Popery* at *Madrid* and *Paris*, but would make no Scruple of it at *Venice* or *Norcia*: and such an Opinion, will indeed qualify you for a Place at Court in the last of those Governments, since 'tis a sufficient Testimony to all Mankind, that you can neither *Write* nor *Read* to any purpose.

P. That's my pretty *Tim*! well, but now there's another Feat to come still.

T. True, and that was, to prove from your own Arguments, that the Clergy do not hold *Passive Obedience*; your *First* Argument is, that Slavery of Body and Mind are inseparable, and therefore Ecclesiastical Tyranny must rise in

Pro-

Proportion to Civil : Now, if Slavery of Body and Mind are inseperable, which indeed I question, and there is a great deal in *Foxes* Martyrs, the *Indian Emperor*, *Pilgrims Progress*, and in other *Stoical* Writers to the contrary, then, 'tis plain Absolute Monarchy, because it enslaves the Body, must also enslave the Mind of course, they being, as you say, inseperable : and then, the Absolute Monarch having ingross'd both Body and Soul to himself, there can be no room for Ecclesiastical Tyranny : and therefore, the Clergy cannot but oppose Secular Tyranny and Absolute Monarchy, since 'tis so much against their own Interest. Secondly, It being, as you observe, impossible to have *Two* Independent Powers in the same Society at once, the Clergy must abjure all Secular Independency and Absolute Power in the State, since their own can never live quietly by it ; For, what's *Gospel*, what's *Scripture*, to a *Bluff* Monarch, that crys — *Eloah* — or — by my *Saul*, *Monn* — or — such is my *Will and Pleasure* — ? which will effectually answer the Charmer, let 'um Charm never so wisely. Thirdly, The Clergy must needs be against Absolute Monarchy, because they can never be safe under it in their Revenues : Such a Government, in your Words, renders all Property uncertain : and tho' here and there an Ecclesiastical Favourite may thrive and grow fat, yet even his Condition under such a Government, is very fickle and precarious : this appears plain in the dispute between the *Abbot* and *King John*.

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Lygrye

Oh! Ho! quoth King John, 'tis told unto me,  
That thou keepest a far better House than I:  
If thou do'st not answer me Questions Three,  
Thy Head shall be taken from thy Bod—y.

Fourthly, the Clergy must certainly oppose all Absolute Monarchy, because under such a Government there's no room for Priestcraft, that being, as you say, a State of Ignorance and Simplicity: but, 'tis in a free State, that all Crafts flourish, Then is the Time for Laitycraft, Army-craft, Navy-craft, and Priestcraft. Fifthly, If it be the Custom in Free States, to exempt the Clergy from Secular Business, for which you instance several Cases: as such an Exemption plainly proves against your own Principles, the Distinction between Priest and People, Laity and Clergy, so 'tis upon that very Distinction that the whole *Hierarchy* is founded, and therefore, they must needs prefer such a Government to Absolute Monarchy. Sixthly, you are of Opinion, that 'tis easy to sanctify the worst Designs of Tyrants, and to give 'um a Religious Turn: Now if so it may be very easy to sanctify a Tyrant's Designs against the Church, and his Persecutions against the *Protestants* and their Clergy: for which reason, such a Government must needs be their Aversion; That this is the Case in *France*, is plain: their Monarchs seizing the Riches of the Church, his violating their Rights in the famous Case of Cardinal *Boisillon*, and making a new Pope *Joan* of his *Madam de Maintenon*, are all such Grievances, as the Clergy, were it not for his De-

spotick



spotick Power, would declare against with Chap. VIII.  
 the utmost Abhorrence. *Seventhly*, You say,  
 'tis the Interest of the *Popish* Princes, to encourage  
*Protestantism*, because 'tis a Religion that  
 would free 'um from the Despotick Tyranny  
 of *Rome*: which shows, that the *Protestant*  
 Clergy are averse to that sort of Government.  
*Eighthly*, If the Clergy have honour'd those  
 Kings most, who have been most for the ease  
 of their Subjects and the true Liberty of the  
 People, then 'tis plain, they are heartily for  
 that kind of Government: now the only *Saints*  
 of all our *English* Monarchs, who have been  
 honour'd with that Character after their Death,  
 are *Edward the Confessor* and King *Charles the*  
*Martyr*: To the first, we owe those Laws  
 which occasion'd the earliest Struggles for Li-  
 berty, presently after the *Conquest*: and to the  
*Second*, all those many generous Concessions,  
 upon which in a great Measure the present  
 happy Establishment is founded; and as he  
 liv'd a true *Father* of his Country, tho' curs'd  
 with a Brood of very undutiful Children, so  
 he died "for the Rights of his People." *Ninthly*,  
 You take it for granted, that all Sects in Ge-  
 neral are for Increasing the Power of their  
 Priests: Now, if it be by Vote of the People  
 and their free Election, that's a *Divine Right*  
 with you, and must needs establish Church  
 Power as firm as can be: and then, how can the  
 Clergy be suppos'd to encourage an Absolute  
 Power in the State, which may so easily quash  
 and suppress their own?

" See his  
 Speech on  
 the Scaf-  
 fold.

P. Pristhee, go on, *Tim*, to the *Tenthly*,  
*Elevently*, *Twelfthly*, and so to the End of the

Chap. VIII. Chapter: thou may'st do it with as much Sense and Argument as appears hitherto.

T. Alas-a-day! Sir! I did think to go a little farther: There's that Reason of yours, that the Difference between the *Dissenters* hinders the Clergy's Power: I did seriously design to say something to that too, but I find, that some few *Paragraphs* before this, you were inviting all the *Dissenters*, even the peaceable *Quaker* among the rest, to unite against the Power of the Church; and therefore, I shall forbear saying any thing to that Article, till I hear you are agreed and united with your self, and are resolv'd which of the Two Reasons shall stand in good earnest; but I must tell you, if this be your way of arguing, tho' you increase your Forces, and add the *Pope*, the *Turk*, the *Devil*, and all to the Confederacy, we shan't fear you.

P. Well, *Tim*, hitherto thou ha'st been taking me to Pieces, but that's easy: filly *Dorard* and *Dunce*, as I am, soon confounded and brought to naught! But now! *Tim*! now, do thou show out: now let's see *Sanderson* in a Satchel, and *Pearson* in a Pockethole.

T. I was to show, it seems, how far and for what Reasons, the Clergy preach'd up *Passive Obedience*, and how far they stand justify'd for so doing; And here, it is to be remember'd, that the Clergy were not the Inventors and Authors of Absolute Monarchy: 'twas much older than the *Gospel*, and their Great Predecessors, the *Apostles*, found to their cost, that 'twas the most prevailing Form then in being; that the Doctrines of *Christianity*, tend to promote Love and Charity, Property and Free-

dom,

dom, Gentleness, Meekness, and good Will towards all Men; To suppress Tyranny and Oppression, and to re-mind *Kings* of their Duty as well as *Vassals*, and to make 'um like *Gods*, only by being Good and Merciful, is plain beyond Contradiction; and 'tis as true withal, that this sort of Government, is contrary to the Interest of the Clergy: What but this, brought upon 'um those *Persecutions* and Trials of Contradiction, under which *Christianity* groan'd for some Centuries; In truth, no People can be more for *Passive Obedience* than they, who teach, that Religion has nothing to do with Government, but ought to leave it as it found it; 'Tis the Secular Interest of the Clergy, that Absolute Monarchy should prevail no where: 'Tis this hinders the Propagation of the Gospel; the Church by her Principles has endeavour'd to qualify it, and the Clergy are most of all concern'd to be against it here in *England*, because one of the leading Reasons, why our Government is not Despotick, is the preservation of our Religion: and surely, they who are chiefly concern'd in that Religion, ought not to oppose those Limitations of our Monarchy, which were made purely for its sake; since therefore, 'tis neither the Principle of the Clergy nor their Interest, to be for *Passive Obedience*, it remains to show; for what other Reasons and how far they promoted it; And here, we are to consider, that when our *Saviour* sent his Ministers out to preach the Gospel to all Nations and Ages: among other Doctrines, they were to preach Obedience to Secular Powers: and this Doctrine being universally design'd, they



Chap. VIII. were to preach it in *Monarchies, Aristocracies, and Republicks*, without any Exception; there being no regard had to the *Form*, of which the *Scriptura* takes no notice; so that wherever the Clergy come, they must preach in general, *Obedience*, but of *what sort* that Obedience is, whether limited or unlimited, *passive* or *conditional*, is not the Part of Religion to determine, but depends wholly upon the Nature of that Government, in which the Clergy reside; If therefore, in some former *Reigns*, our Clergy preach'd up Obedience, they did no more than their Duty: but that this Obedience was *Passive*, depended wholly upon the nature of the Establishment, and not at all on Religion: and 'twas the Government's fault, that 'twas no better model'd: that being a mere Question in Politicks, without any regard to Divinity; Now, that the Government was of this sort at that time, is too plain by many sad Experiments, which it was the Business of many succeeding years to remedy and reform: The Maxims that obtain'd then, the Oaths and Publick Engagements, the unsettled State of *Parliaments*, the Judgments and Opinions of the Generality of our Lawyers and Men learned and interested in the Publick, who are the Clergy's Directors in this Case, were all unanimous on this Subject, if it be said, that this obtain'd because of the *Restriction* of the *Press*, and other Hardships, under which the Subject then labour'd: these very things are a proof of what I say; and 'tis plain, that they who adventur'd to maintain the *other* side of the Question, did wholly spend themselves in the general Argument

ment against Absolute Power, without offering Chap. VIII.  
to prove, that this was not the *English* Con-  
stitution at that time: so that, they rather  
seem'd to argue, that our Monarchy ought to  
be limited, than that it *was* so; But if after  
all, this were really a Mistake, yet since 'twas  
a Mistake in *Politics*, the Clergy may be very  
easily excus'd from a *Secular* Error, for after-  
wards when 'twas found out, none contributed  
more heartily than they to rectify it.

P. This has somewhat of a face, *Tim*: but  
then what's the Reason, that the *Universities*  
and many of the Clergy do still hold the same  
Doctrine, at least they have never yet solemnly  
repeal'd it?

T. Prithee, don't be surpriz'd, *Phil*, when  
I tell you that *Passive Obedience* is in some  
measure still kept up, purely to prevent Ab-  
solute Power: for, if this were well observ'd  
in its best Sense, if Men would be content to  
suffer, rather than be made the Instruments of  
Wrong and Injustice towards their Fellow-  
Subjects, Tyranny would be quite disarm'd,  
and Absolute Power strip'd of every thing  
that's odious and hurtful to Mankind; Be-  
sides, if the Oaths and Practices of the Clergy  
be not a sufficient Proof of their Well-wishes  
to the Revolution, and Loyalty to the present  
Establishment, 'tis not to be suppos'd that  
any other Declaration, however solemn, will  
pass for a better; The State has not thought  
fit to make any positive Law against this Do-  
ctrine, why then should the Church? and 'tis  
from the State, as I observ'd, that the Church  
is to take the measures of her Obedience; in-  
deed there are some Cases, where Laws and

Chap. VIII. Statutes, especially those that are fundamental and which concern the first Principles of Government, are better suffer'd to *sleep* and dye away insensibly, than to be repeal'd and cancell'd by other Statutes made on purpose: as this shows an Error in the State, so 'tis an Error of the first Concoction, and betrays too much Political Weakness: but Errors of this Nature in the Church, are remarkably set out to her Disadvantage: Besides, were *Passive Obedience* to be abrogated by a Law or Canon, they who are apt to take things in the gross and have no good Talent at *Abstractions*, the Mob and Populace, and who yet are chiefly concern'd in this Doctrine, would be apt to imagine, that not so much the *Passive Part*, as that *Obedience in self* was repeal'd, and they left at liberty and random to do as they pleas'd: and so deal with this Topic, just as they do by the *Toleration*, which because it indulges some sorts of Dissension, therefore they think it may serve to shelter *Atheism*, *Socinianism*, *Deism*, and Forty other Heresies, as being all necessary Ingredients in the Notion of a *Tender Conscience*: Then there is another Reason, why there has been no positive Law either Civil or Ecclesiastical against *Passive Obedience*, and that is, because in a limited Sense, 'tis still requisite to keep it in force: If we rightly consider our Constitution, the same Mass of Power, at least of the Legislative Power, which heretofore perhaps was lodg'd in a single person, is now communicated to many: and wherever the whole of the Government is, they must be Absolute, and *Passive Obedience* to them is consequently



frequently an indispensable Duty; Besides, Chap. VIII. do we not still take an Oath to the Queen personally, without any Limitation, but only on the account of Religion? 'Tis true, there are other Conditions talk'd of, but 'tis not by those that *make* the Oaths, but those that *take* 'em, who are by no means proper Judges in the Cause; Add to this, that whatever other Subjects may venture upon, yet the strictest Obedience is the Principle of the Clergy; who are at all times debarr'd from Force and the Use of any other Arms, but *those of the Spirit*: and let the Government, the Law, and the Constitution, alter as it will, still the Doctrine of the Gospel is, *Obedience*; Then, let it be consider'd, that *Passive Obedience*, in some degree, is our Duty at all Times, and under all Governments, and that both by the Moral, Political, and Divine Law, and reaches to the several Relations of Children, and Subjects, and Servants; we are to bear many *Inconveniencies* in a Family, and much *Mismanagement* in a State, and by no means to make our own private Case, however just it may be, an occasion for disturbing the Publick: Nay, even where the Whole is in danger, we must still look to the *Last Resort*, and preserve that sacred and untouch'd: For by the very nature of things, a State cannot be without a *Last Resort*: and that alone is the last Resort, which is unaccountable; There are many Cases, in which the *right of Self-preservation* takes place and has its due Extent, but the Throne can in *no* Case be *Supream*, if in every Case it may be judg'd and oppos'd by a Power above it; the Right of Kingly Government, is certainly a Right  
of

Chap. VIII. of the *People's*, and they must not oppose this Right but for the sake of a greater: whereas, there is none so great and universal; in all Contentions of this nature, if there be not a *Majority*, the War is on all hands declar'd to be unlawful: and if there be a *Majority*, the Throne is certainly the weakest Side, and therefore the Argument ought to bear strongly that way, or the Balance will be spoil'd and the whole put into confusion; Besides, the Form is so very nearly ally'd to the Person, that 'tis odds but the downfall of one Tyrant is the ruine of Monarchy: and after all, in Fact, there is scarce any such thing, as a *People's* opposing their Prince: but 'tis commonly one Candidate, one Pretender, or Rival against another: for all such Oppositions are directed by the Conduct and Managery of a Few, and the People are only Tools and Instruments led on to the Battle, and are then chiefly under Command, when they suppose themselves to be most Powerful; But I spend too much time, and complement you too far, *Phil*, when I rank your Arguments among the *subordinate* and *co-ordinate* Writers; They only compare a few Orders, You level the Whole: they are only for a *mixt* Supremacy, you are for a *Mob*: an idle, senseless Novelty! attended with a greater Number of Absurdities, than there are Votes among the People to support it.

P. Why really, *Tim*, many of thy Notions are not quite so bad, as what is usually vented here in the *Universities*: and is it not a Shame, that we should have no nobler Notion, than what *Greece* and *Rome*, and the old *Heathen* Philosophers and Sages profess'd? They taught their

their Sholars, that 'twas one of the first Religious Duties to serve their Country: *Nihil enim illi principi Deo, &c.*——*Som. Scipio.* they instructed their Disciples, to despise Death, Torments, Riches, and Reproaches, if they stood between them and their Duty: How unlike is this to the *Modern Philosophy*?

T. So very unlike, that in my Opinion now the *Old Philosophy* and the *New* are in this Point, exactly the *same*; How often do we quote the *Romans* and the *Grecians*, the *Gauls* and the rest of your *Old Philosophers*, to prove the great Veneration due to *Priests* and *Kings*, their Power, their Riches, and how Sacred their Persons ought to be with the People? We are told, that nothing was done in the State without their Advice, that all Councils, Treaties, Wars, and Alliances, were begun by 'um and manag'd in a great measure for their sakes! How very learned, how copious are our Writers on this Subject! 'tis not a single Quotation from *Scipio's Dream* shall satisfy 'um, but Sentence upon Sentence, Line upon Line, and whole *Margins* full of *Authorities*; and this is the Reason, you must know, that all these same Philosophers are in as good Credit at *Oxford* as ever they were in their own Country; Should I ask a young *Oxonian*, a *Church-Cub*, a *Tory* in *Embryo*, How he proves absolute Monarchy from *Macrobius*? perhaps he might quote me that very scrap of yours, *Nihil enim illi principi Deo, &c.* and thereupon conclude, that *Jupiter* being Governour of the Universe, the Powers beneath, were establish'd by his Will and Pleasure, were  
his



Chap. VIII. his Substitutes and Vicegerents, and ought to be obey'd accordingly; Nay, should I ask him for a Definition of *Passive Obedience*, he might perhaps give it me in your Words, that 'tis a *despising of Death, Torments, Riches, and Reproaches*, if they stand between us and our Duty; Indeed those *Heathen Writers*, who liv'd under *Republican States*, do magnifie Liberty at a high rate, they do well, since 'tis the Constitution of their Country: but then there are others under a *Monarchical Form*, that advance the Power of Kings every whit as high: and therefore, he that will undertake to write either for *Anarchy* or *Monarchy*, may get *Philosophers* enough on his side: but whether in *Republicks*, or under a *Monarchical Form*, they all agree to magnifie the Independent and Divine Right of the *Priests*: And now, *Jacobite*! now, *High-flyer*! now, *Perkinite* and *Tory* of Ten Thousand! What is the Consequence of all this? only, that you and your *Old Philosophers* have made the Independent Right of *Monarchy* a *Moot Point*, but the Independent Right of the *Clergy* is past dispute and unquestionable.

P. And is not this what the *Clergy* desire? is it not by vertue of this Independent Power, that they have taken upon 'um to insult the Throne, to quarrel with Princes, and to raise *Factions* and *Disturbances* in all *Reigns*, about *Exemption of Clerks*, *Investiture*, *Privilege of Sanctuary*, and other pretended Rights of the Church?

T. I have nothing to do with your *Popish Trinkets*, but name me some of the Real Rights

Rights of the Church, and such as are worth contending for, Then, *Phil*, you shall see me very peremptory: and do what you can, I'll make you distinguish very nicely, between Secular and Ecclesiastical Disturbances; Now, between *these*, I can assure you, there is a great deal of Difference: if a private Subject goes to Law with the *Queen* for Justification of his Property, If the *Russia* Company dun the Government with the Dangers of their Trade, If the *Lincolnshire* Esquires are for securing their Game, If the Merchants complain for want of *Cruizers* and *Convoys*, If *Enquiries*, *Remonstrances*, and *State-Garbling*, go forward, with many other such Political Contrivances, as there is indeed ever now and then a very great Occasion for 'um: All this is Justice, and Equity, and Honesty: and the Authors and Promoters are all *Patriots* and *Heroes*: but then, it seems, Religion being in some Mens Opinions of no Concern to the State, and if it be not, yet they will suffer no body else to take Care of it, when Appeal is made to the Law for the *Rights* of the *Church*, or to secure the *Ecclesiastical* Game, and defend *St. Peters* Boat from Privateers and Doggers, if some People *Enquire* for the Church, *Remonstrate* for the Church, and would fain *Garbel* for the Church, this in your Persecuting Opinion, is Faction and Disturbance, and the Authors of it must be all, Rioters and Rebels.

P. And what are they else? Have we not felt and experienc'd 'um as such? Did they not ruin *K. Charles* and *K. James*, Father and Son?

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T. Prithee *one* at a Time, *Phil*: I perceive, you make nothing of ruining Kings by *Con- plots*: If you please, we'll begin with the Son; And are you sure, *Phil*, the Clergy ruin'd him? I mean, the *Protestant* Clergy, for I have nothing to do with any Body else: If they did, then are they not for *Passive Obedience*, and 'tis to them that we owe the *Revolution*; What was there, that the Clergy did not say, and do, for restraining *that* unhappy *Monarch* from those Dangerous Methods, he pers'd to his Ruin? Whilst the *Protestant* Bishops were in the *Tower*, the *Fanatical* Rabbi's were with *Peters* in the *Cabinet*, and many of those who now trample upon *his* Ashes, were at that time the *Dogs and Spaniels* of *his* Flock; No, *Phil*, 'twas the Church that made the first and surest Steps towards our Deliverance, and they who went farthest, ought even upon your own Principles, to Glory in the Achievement; with the same Confidence, and as much Truth, is it, that you charge the Clergy with the Murder of *K. Charles I.*: What were the Clergy against him at the Battles of *Naseby* and *Marston-Moor*? Did they rob him of the *Militia*? Advise him to *Perpetuate* the *Parliament*? Or Council him to advance his *Prerogative*, and at the same time teach the People to insist on their Privileges? I fancy, *Phil*, you do not really understand the true *Banter* and *Drollery* of *Forty One*; and because those Archfellows had very merrily told the World, that whilst they hunted the King, shot at the King, persued him with Horse and Foot, seiz'd, imprison'd, and condemn'd him, they were yet true to the King, and all along for him!



him: therefore, you concluded by the Rule of Chap. VIII. *Opposites*, that they who fought on his Side, were really against him; But, suppose the Clergy had done all that you lay to their Charge: yet 'twould be no more an Argument against *their Order*, than 'tis a Reason to lay aside all Judges, Privy-Councillors, Generals, Admirals, and Parliaments, because there may be found a time, when they were not so good as they should be; No, *Phil*, in the very beginning of those Troubles, the *Convocations* and *Bishops Votes*, were all taken away, as being a very strong bar to Rebellion: and 'tis an Argument, they were the honestest Men, who were first Voted, *Malignants*; If by the Clergy, you mean only the *Archbishop*, that's a *Figure*, that will never pass in *Controversy*: besides too, he fell early: and that Sacrifice was far from stanching their Thirst of Blood: It being very remarkable, that when they had sequestred, massacred, imprison'd, banish'd, starv'd, and made away all the Clergy, then they began to be *exquisitely* and *triumphantly* Villanous; And yet after all, had the Clergy been the Ruin of *that King*, the Murderers of that *Martyr*, and taken upon 'um the Atchievements *both of Presbyterian and Independent*, not only brought him to the Block, but cut his Head off, yet with you that's an Action of Renown and Merit, and ought to be remember'd to their Glory.

P. How so, *Tim*?

T. Why, don't you say, we had been all Slaves, if *he* had been suffer'd to live? Whereas, if ever the *English* were really Slaves, 'twas in *that time*, which was between

his

Chap. VIII. *his Death and the Restoration*: an *Ara*, crowded with Tyranny, Rapin, Bloodshed, and Universal Confusion; then we were Slaves in the worst Sense, for to be trampled upon by the Great and the Mighty, is not half so intolerable, as to be under the Mob and Scum of the World, to be Slaves to *those*, that ought rather to be *so* to us, and to let them bear Rule over us, that ought to bow down before us; Then, like the State of *the damn'd*, every Alteration was but to change our Tormentors: and who, but such as make Darkness Light, and Evil Good, can mistake such a State, for Liberty and Freedom? Nay, even by your own Principles, Slavery, and not Liberty, was the Consequence of King Charles's Murder, since it threw us into *Anarchy*, and that as you have observ'd, naturally ends in *Absolute Monarchy*.

P. I find, thou beginst to be a little more upon the *Serious*, Tim.

T. Alas! You know my Temper, and the Sweetness of my Constitution; I would be Merry, if you would let me: why, did you go to fright me with a Story of *Raw-Head* and *Bloody-Bones*, and other such rueful things, as any Creature alive at First hearing would be startled at? D'ye think I have the Spirit of Sir *Thomas Moor*, to jest with an *Axe* on a *Scaffold*? I know the \* *Men of Forty One*, are sometimes verry Merry Lads, and afford good Diversion: but like the Play of *Venice Preserv'd*, tho' the Comedy be very Low, yet the Tragical Part quite over ballances; and for my Part, I cannot see a *Jackpudding* devour a *Toad*, without being Serious, tho' at the same Time his

\* See *Clarendon's History* a Work Necessary to be perus'd by all who would be Masters of this Controversy. N.B. The whole Work is 6 Volumes.

his dress be very well sorted, and the Mouths Chap. VIII.  
he makes, many and Diverting.

P. Thou hast all along, *Tim*, oppos'd a Doctrine, that is truly *Protestant*, and which the Best of our Church, have all along maintain'd against the *Papists*, in disputing the *Roman Supremacy*: as is plain by many Quotations, collected from *Barlow*, *Burnet*, *Gomarus*, *Gualterus*, *Scot*, *Hooker*, the Lord *Clarendon*, and even from *Father Paul* himself: and surely, they can never condemn these Notions in me, which themselves make use of against the Church of *Rome*.

T. Now to me, there seems to be as much difference between your Notions, and those of these Worthy Men, as between a Windmill and a Warmingpan; You hold, that the Clergy have no *Independent Right*, They hold, that the Clergy have no *Independent Supremacy*: Now, there's a World of Odds between these two: The *Parliament*, say we, has many Independent Rights, such as do not belong to 'um of Grace only and Favour, but by Property and Privilege: and so has every Subject certain Rights from Nature, and from God, which he holds Independent of all the World, and which no Power can deprive him of Fairly and Justly: and after the same Manner, God has given the Clergy some Particular Rights Independent of the Rest of Mankind: but certainly no Man ever concluded from hence, that either the Clergy, or the *Parliament*, or you and I were *Supream*; Besides, what Divine Rights the Clergy claim, are not in any wise prejudicial to the State: but the *Pope*, besides the Rights of Preaching, Ordaining, and such like, claims for his Cler-



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gy all those Temporal Rights, which were never made Ecclesiastical but by the Favour of the State, such as the Scripture never gave, and indeed almost every thing that he is pleas'd to call, *In ordine ad Spiritualia*, which scarce leave any thing for the Magistrate: Now, this the *Protestant* Clergy do not pretend to, but hold those Temporal Rights under the same Conditions as the Laity hold theirs; *Lastly*, the *Pope's* Supremacy not only Rivals but exceeds the *King's*, by I know not how much, and undertakes to dispose of Crowns and Scepters and Monarchs themselves, to absolve from *Allegiance* and do such other Feats, as no Clergy but his own were ever so *Romantick* as to dream of; Now, do but read over *Barlow*, and *Hooker*, and *Clarendon*, and see if this be not the Supremacy that they mean: and whether there be any thing like it on this side the *Alps*; Little did they think, Good Men, that whilst they were tumbling down the *Old* one at *Rome*, Rifling his Reliques and Plundering his *Elaboratory*, the Vicars and Curates, and all the little *Protestant* Popelings at home, would rise in Arms presently, and imagine their Independent Apples, Eggs, Piggs, and Goosequills to be in Danger by the Downfall of *Babylon*: or that they should be at all concern'd at his fall, whom they had so often aim'd at from behind the *Sounding-Board*, and bang'd him so Heroically under the Visible Type of a *Pulpit-Cushion*.

P. I wonder, *Tim*, why among all the Reasons produc'd against *High-Church* in this Chapter, thou hast forgot those of the *Seventy First Paragraph*, which shews the strange Miracles and Wonders it has wrought.

T. Why,

T. Why, you must know, I have a few Reasons for't in *Petto*: One is, because what you there assert, is in a great Measure most notoriously true: for it is the Design of our Church and our Religion, to bring about all those Miracles there mention'd: that is to make a Villain a Patriot, a French Pensioner a true Englishman, and an Atheist a Saint; Besides, how do I know but meddling in this Matter may draw me in for misprision of Treason, or at least a high Crime and Misdemeanour? Here you are charging one with French Gold, another with *Atheism*, a third with Villany, and talk of Plots, Conspiracies and designs against the Government, and would fain have me join with you in the *Detection*: now, either you do certainly know these things to be true, or you do not: if you do not, then are all your Harangues of this Sort, Scandalous, Vexatious, and Impertinent: and if you do, why do you not go to the Secretaries, Impeach the Persons, Enter your self an Evidence, and begin your *Narrative*? For my Part, I never love to concern my self in Politicks, when once it comes to a *Party*, for to be of a *Party*, is to follow Men and not Principles, to give up one's Reason and Conscience to Noise and Number, to be Ambitious, Quarrelsome, Factions, and Discontented, of all which a Man may be Guilty even in a Good Cause, and these *Party* Qualities I could never yet fancy, were agreeable either to Religion or Common Honesty; Besides, when once the Controversy comes to Persons and Characters, and to that Idle Enquiry, why the Former Times were better than these, or these than the Former, Interest is

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Predominant, Men are so Changeable, and the Affairs of this World so very uncertain, that I am horribly afraid of advancing some general Notions about Matters of State, which afterwards perhaps I may have Occasion to oppose, and which will then stare me in the Face, make me look very simple and unlucky, and drive me perhaps to the Old Scurvy excuse of, *Better Information*; I remember, I had once the Honour to wait upon a certain Great Man with a *Dedication*, in which many Parlous Things were said of all his Noble Qualifications and Endowments, especially his Moral Vertues: and upon being admitted, I found *His Worship* in very Close Conference with an Eminent *Surgeon*; Could I only in a *Poetical Way* say with a Great Man.

*What is't to us who Rules the State?*

*Who bribes for Places, or who's Great?*

and after that, be handsomely Contradicted with *Five or Six Hundred a Year Court-Preferment*, I should beg leave not to insist altogether on the *Integrity* of the *Muses*; It was my Luck once to meet with *Pliny's Panegyrick* to King *James*, and I piec'd it with some *Sermons* I got, and they agreed so very well together, that you needed only to have put King *James* for King *William*, and 'twas hard to know 'um asunder; Another time, I met with some *Memoirs* relating to Oaths, Vacancies, and other such Ecclesiastical Matters, which I should have been very glad if the Authors would afterwards have procur'd a Friend or so, when their Convenience requir'd, to have



have answer'd, but I luckt unhappily upon the Chap. VIII. Contrary Side of the Question manag'd by the same *Logicians*, only 'twas upon *Different Paper*; And I have also heard Men by Word of Mouth, very stedfastly assert some things, and very Peremptorily, and yet *Providence* has so alter'd Affairs, as if on purpose to teach 'um not to be too Positive and Presumptuous, that they have soon chang'd their Notes; Others, I have heard speak very loud, and fast, and hasty, but by and by, they have sat down quietly, and said nothing, which in Divinity is call'd, *the falling of the Jaw-bone*; Now, for as much as the Art of *Addressing* has very little to do in Controversy and serious Business, therefore I forbear meddling in such Dangerous Matters, for fear any of these Self-Contradictions and Calamities should come upon me; only, I could wish thus much, that *High-Church*, and *Low-Church* would at last begin to be a fair Contention, Both persuing the same *Ends*, only divided about the *Means*; And why should it not be so? the *Low-church-men* are not *Dissenters*, nor the *High-church-men* *Papists*: they all frequent the same Communion, and partake of the same Sacraments, why then should we imagine they are not all for the same Church? Under a Government, that allows Liberty of Conscience, and where there seems to be no great Occasion for *Hypocrisy*, so much Charity as this would soon bring our Differences to an Issue: and in the mean Time, let our Enemies see, that they are in Favour on neither side: and that the only dispute is, whether they shall be suppress'd by the shorter Methods of Severity and Rigour, or the more

M 3      Lingring

Chap. VIII. Lingring way of Discountenance and Neglect;

Lastly, I have carefully look'd over the *Articles*, *Canons*, *Rubrick*, and *Homilies* of the Church of England, and I don't find that any of 'um do encourage, or so much as *Tolerate*, any Mismanagement of the *Treasury*, the raising the *Customs* without *Parliament*, or the blotting of the *Hearth-mony Book*, and how far the Church has, as you observe, resented the Disorders that happen'd at *Hochstat* and *Ramelles*, and that other late dispute, which notwithstanding your Reprimand, was so warmly manag'd at *Blaregnies* near *Mons*, I cannot very readily say; As she has but three remarkable Ways of expressing herself, by the *Organ*, the *Bellsry* and the *Pulpit*, so I do not remember, that ever she utter'd her self so handsomely every Way, and with so good a Courage, upon any of her own peaceable *Festivals*.

P. Well, *Tim*! I shall not yet quit thee upon this Subject, I mean, the *Ministry*: 'tis a *Topick*, that Fellows of thy *Kidney* us'd to be very Copious upon.

T. That is, when Fellows of my *Kidney*, have to do with Fellows of your *Understanding*; for my Part, I cannot find by your account, that we have any *Ministry* at all, you have entirely levell'd 'um, and unless they'll take out fresh Commissions from that *New Supremacy* which you have erected, I know not what to say to 'um: and even then, being the Tools and Instruments of the People, whatever they do, their *Masters* must have the Glory on't. But however upon the Increase of Parties, the Business of *Panegyrick* and *Dedication*, is intirely spoil'd and ruin'd: Indeed,

deed, as the Golden Shower descends, the Chap. VIII.  
Fountains and the Vein of flattery run smooth  
and plentiful: and this Flux and Reflux, is  
natural enough; But suppose now I take Pen  
in hand, and in large *Roman Text*, invoking,  
*His Grace*, or *His Honour*, I proceed and tell  
*his Lordship*, what I'm sure *his Lordship* does  
not care to hear: and all the World, what I  
presume they know already: that *Volminius* is  
thoughtful and penetrating, an exact Dis-  
cerner of himself, and of all Mankind: Calm  
in Council, Resolute in Execution, Just and  
yet belov'd: that he subdues his own Passions,  
and reconciles all others; that *Aristides* is wise  
and witty, noble by Nature, by Inclination  
sweet and affable, upright by Choice, and  
great by Merit; that *Pomponius* is an univer-  
sal Favourite, a lover of Arts in others, him-  
self excellent in all: calm and temperate, vi-  
gilant and industrious, fit to govern among  
Storms and Tempests, because always stedd-  
y and serene; Thus, when I have been a Week  
or Two in burnishing a few Pages, and made  
'um shine with *Japan Ink*, *Gilt Paper*, and *Pa-  
negyrick*: Who, that's half a *Critic*, but can  
discover at first sight, that all this illustrious  
stuff is carefully collected out of a copious  
*Common-place*, containing things useful and  
fitting to be said to a *Viceroy*, a *first Pre-  
sident*, and *high Admiral*: for these sort of  
Habiliments, like the *Buskins* and *Mantles*  
of the *Play-house*, are made to fit all man-  
ner of *Heroes*; and therefore it is really a  
very arch and witty Custom, when Patrons  
repay such kind of Addresses with *Guineas* and  
*Broad-pieces*: the *Return* is pat and to the  
M 4 Purpose,



Chap. VIII. purpose, for both the *Pieces* and *Panegyrick*, are a sort of Coin, that in all likelihood has pass'd through a Thousand hands before, upon the like occasions.

P. Do'st thou blame People for praising those that deserve it?

T. No, nor for being paid for't, if they do not deserve it; but the World, *Phil*, has found it very difficult to commend a Person without abusing him.

P. How so, *Tim*?

T. Why, *First*, by commending him, you make him of your own Party, and that exposes him to t'other Side: Then, the common Panegyrick is either *imperfect*, or else a downright *Contradiction*; For do but observe the greatest Masters this way, if they commend a Lady for a *Shape*, 'tis a certain sign her *Face* is homely: if they praise her *Wit*, depend on it she wants *Beauty*: if they celebrate her *Vertues*, Fifty to one if she has a tolerable *Fortune*: if they cry up her *Air*, you may be sure, she has no good *Features*; For, as it is in Painting, whatever is omitted is certainly a *Blemish*, and the censorious World by what's *inserted*, always find what's *wanting*: Just after the same manner; if you commend a Courtier for his *Wit*, Ten to One if his *Sense* ben't the worse for't: if you praise a Judge for his *Zeal*, one may easily guess he wants *Temper*: and if you call in the whole Body of *Antitheses* to your assistance, few can manage 'um after that incomparable Model,

*Tho' Deep, yet Clear: tho' Gentle, yet not Dull:  
Strong without Rage, without o'erflowing, Full,  
And*

And then the Picture grows much worse than *Chap. VIII.*  
*Horace's Mermaid*, when made up of, *hot*  
*yet cool, open yet reserv'd, bold yet wary,* and so  
 on till the Spectators laugh in your *Hero's Face*,  
 and the blunt Followers of *Butler*, cry, *He's*  
*neither Fish nor Flesh, nor good Red Herring.*

P. Thou art for depriving our Governors,  
*Tim*, of one great Reward of their Actions.

T. So far from it, that I would have Places  
 and Panegyrics descend together: For thus  
 stands the Case, *Phil*, every Party has a Go-  
 vernment of their own, and a certain Sett of  
*Chancellors, Secretaries, Admirals,* and so forth:  
 and every Party is both *for* the Ministry, and  
*against* the Ministry, according as their Friends  
 rise and fall: Those that are *in*, have all the  
 Vertues in the Nation, and then, you know,  
 there can be none left for those that are *out*;  
 Now suppose, I should set my Heart upon a  
 particular Sett of Men, whom because they  
 were *Great*, I should resolve to make very good  
 too: and thereupon, should trick 'um and  
 dress 'um up so, as if I design'd that all the  
*Panegyrick* that came after, should be nothing  
 but *Tautology*; Put the case, that notwith-  
 standing all this, these Men should change and  
 turn, and go over to the opposite side: with  
 what face, could I, who allow all judicious  
 Persons a Right to *reform* themselves, and al-  
 ter for what they think *the Better*, discard 'um  
 my favour, and banish 'um my Presence, that  
 were once, *The Celebrated*, and, *The Incompa-*  
*erable*? Or suppose the Men continue the *same*,  
 yet if the Times change, which is altogether  
 as likely, and a new Sett of Governours gets  
 uppermost, how would it vex me to see all my  
*fine*

Chap. VIII. *fine Metaphors, Allegories, Similes, and Complements*, keep still close to their old Companions, the *Muses, White Staves, Tridents, and Truncheons*, and descend to those Men, who are as opposite to my *Favourites*, as *Mob* to *Magistracy*? How unfashionable must my Works then appear? when I'm left in utter despair of another Edition or any more Readers, because my *Chronology* is old, and my *Consuls* and *Archons* are Weatherbeaten and out of date; Then my Labours look like a last year's *Almanack* or *Civil List*, and my celebrated *Commissioners, Councillors*, and all my other *Heroes*, make as indifferent a Figure, as a *Country Squire* at Court, or an *Alderman* in the *House of Commons*.

P. All well Wishers to their Country are extremely nice in the choice of *Ministers*: Prithce, Tim, how com'st thou to be so very careless and indifferent.

T. Lookye, Phil, I always took it for granted, that the Choice did by no means belong to me: and yet if a *Pamphlet* or two would procure me that Privilege, I'd appear in *Quarto* within these *Twenty-four Hours*; All the business I take it, that I have to do with the Man, whom the *Queen* delighted to Honour, is to Reverence and obey him: I'm not to tell, what shall be put about his Neck, or whose Daughter he should marry; Indeed were I to nominate, I should make him only a Favourite at Court, that would make me so too: and I tell you plainly, he only should be my first Minister, that would give me a good Place under him, for One good Turn deserves another.




P. But then, a Man ought not to fix upon such and such Persons for private Ends and Interests, but only for Publick. Chap. VIII.

T. If you mean Party Ends and Interests, they are often found to be as private as personal Interests, or those of the same Family: Indeed, if it be the Method of the *Whiggs*, to tell Money over a *Gridiron*, e'en let 'um be excluded the *Treasury* and *Pay-Offices*: If, as you hinted, the *Tories* believe it to be an Ecclesiastical Crime to beat the *French*, Let these have nothing to do about the Army: If the *Whiggs* are *Deists*, *Socinians*, and *Republicans*, If the *Tories* are *Papists*, *Jacobites*, *Rakes*, and *Atheists*, what, in the Name of Goodness, have the Church and State to do with either? Is it part of the Office of a Judge, that he shall be an *High Church-man*? or are there any *Low Church* Articles inserted in Commissions, or given in charge to *Juries*? What is this troublesome Distinction, that every body talks of, and no body understands, that is neither according to *Law*, nor *Gospel*, and yet makes more noise than both?

P. Is there no Consideration to be had of Merit in the Choice of *Ministers*, *Tim*?

T. Oh, *Sir*, *Parties* spoil all Merit: the Question is not, *What can you do*? But, *Of what Side are you*? This equals a Man of Sense to a Blockhead, if they stand Candidates, the last may carry it, His *Party* is his Merit; He can *bawl* tho' he can't *talk*, and 'tis easy to say *Yes*, or *No*, without the expence of much thinking: The less Sense the more Obstinacy: and the more ignorant he is, still the more ready to follow his Leaders; this equals

Chap. VIII.  qual's a Villain and an Honest Man, if they stand Candidates, the *first* may have it by Odds: His *Party* is his *Principle*: such a one makes an admirable *Tool*, the other is *blunt*, and consequently *useless*: He has *Vertue*, but his Adversary has *Cunning*, and that naturally qualifies him for all those Frauds, which *Papish* Countries hold to be Pious, but *Protestant* States to be only *Political*; In short, there is *Magick* in the very Name of a *Party*, it works Wonders daily, and makes Pamphlets as miraculous as *Romish* Legends: This shall coin an *Ass* into a Statesman, equip him with a Deputy *Officer* and Deputy *Pamphleteer*, let it be *Prose* or *Verse* the Panegyrick is the same, and he passes upon the World for *Incomparable*, whilst the *first* finds him in *Accounts* and the other in *Vertues*; *Party* has in days of *Tore* made a *Hero* conquer Abroad, and be bully'd at Home; It dissolves the *first* Principles of *Arithmetick*, and is of more force than *Demonstration*; It makes a *Place* of the Law, without making it a *Profession*: It opens the Eyes of *Justice*, that has a long time lain under the Scandal of being blind, and makes her strike more regularly and *distinctly*; It can lay a *Ghost*, or raise a *Genius*: Time has been when it has taken a foreign *Silk Petticoat*, and spread it abroad with all its *Fourbeleans*, then hurl'd it o'er a whole Shoal of *Politicians* at once, and swoop'd 'um all up, like *Tronts* in a *Casting-net*.

P. I perceive, *Tim*, thou art one of those, that are for opposing the Court.

T. Why all that now, *Phil*, is just so much of nothing to the purpose: the Court is a great

great Beauty, universally complemented and admir'd: There's no such thing as opposing her, for all Men enjoy her, or would enjoy her if they could, and an *Anti-Courtier*, is as much a Prodigy as a *Woman Hater*, or a *Lover of small Beer*; for my part, I think the Union between *Court* and *Country*, as sacred, as that between Man and Wife, and he that makes a Principle of setting them together by the Ears, deserves, according to custom, to be handsomely bang'd on both Sides; He that scratches his Head, says an *Ingenious Casuist*, till it bleeds, had been better employ'd in biting his own Nails; And he that to kill an aspiring Flea, that's crawling upwards, shall take a Cudgel and knock himself o'er the Pate, may be reasonably suppos'd to have a very thick Skull; but he is certainly stark mad, that is all day long promoting a Civil War among his Members, kicking and cuffing himself like a *Spanish Penitent*, only by way of *Reformation*; It were much better to torture a sound Arm, or burn a lusty Leg, if that will draw the Humour downwards, than that the Head should suffer, or any of those Parts upon which its immediate Welfare depends, for there's no such thing as *Commutation of Vitals*, tho' there may be such a Project as *Transfusion of Blood*; There is indeed a great difference in *Oppositions*: when the Humours gather to a Head, every *Opposition* makes a *Fermentation*: Now, there is a *Fermentation to Corruption*, and a *Fermentation to Perfection*: A free *Debate*, an *Impartial Enquiry*, a fair *Law Suit*, a Difference in *Reckonings* and *Accounts*, are all such *Oppositions* as are legal and justifiable; But he

Chap. VIII.

See the  
Emblems  
sold at the  
Mews-gate  
in the  
Strand.



Chap. VIII. that always opposes his *Betters*, right or wrong, is either a personal Enemy to those above him, or a Publick Enemy to the Government it self; He that opposes his *Betters*, because he's not one of the Number, makes a Jest of Rebellion, and quarrels only, as Lovers do, for the sake of a *Reconciliation*; He that opposes his *Betters* to shew his Parts, is like a sort of *Ladies*, who upon every sudden occasion, pretend to be frighted, only because they know they can squeak with an Air, and that a *Disorder* becomes them; And he that opposes his *Betters*, by supposing how bad he should be, were he in their Places, is the cunningest Gamester of all, and proceeds upon a Principle extreamly *Mathematical*, That chuse what *Pack* of *Cards* you please, unless there be *Knaves* in't, 'tis certainly imperfect.

\* Vide  
Hackney-  
Coach.

P. No, no, there's another sort of Men requisite in some People's Opinion, and they are *Churchmen*, *Tim*.

T. Lookye, *Phil*, if the Church and State be, as you have notably observ'd, *all One*, then, to say that Churchmen shall not be employ'd in the Government, is the same thing as to say, Statesmen shall not be employ'd in the State: but if according to the Common Opinion, there be some small Difference between Church and State, yet so long as they are United and Incorporated with each other, I think there ought to be a more than Ordinary Correspondence between the *Ministers* of both; Is it not a Sign of Loyalty and Affection to the Publick, to lend Money to the Government? and is not he equally Loyal, that has

has intrusted his dearest Interests with the State, and has 'um settled in a Fund that's Everlasting? We see the Lawyers forward for Publick Posts, and highly valuing themselves upon the Merits of their Profession: and is not the Church a Part of that very Law, establish'd by it, and highly in its Favour? Or is a Church, that is Perfect and Excellent, to be compar'd with those, that are but just tolerable? Where is the Inconsistency, and what is it, that Incapacitates a *Churchman* from being a *Minister of State*? Or, let me name all the *First Ministers* to you, and then tell me, if you dare, which of 'um is not a *Churchman*? Can any of those Sects, that cause Divisions at home, teach us a New and more effectual way of beating the *French*, abroad? Does *Socinus* deliver any Extraordinary Doctrines about the *Chequer* or *Treasury*? Will *Deism* qualify a Man for the Management of a *Committee*, or *Atheism* teach any New Arts in Policy, notwithstanding it minds nothing else? It may indeed, dictate a World of Cunning: it has all the *Serpent* in't, but the Church does a greater Wonder, when it joins *him* with the *Dove*: and there is a vast Difference between Religious and Irreligious Craft: The First, when it is found out, is admir'd, but the Last is His'd and Laugh'd at; The Shew and Outside of Religion, is allow'd to be Necessary, how useful then is the whole Substance and Reality? Does Christianity in General spoil Court-Interest? will the Vertues of Courage, Zeal, Constancy, and Resolution, bring a Man out of Credit with the *Tories*? or the Duties of Meekness, Long-suffering, and

Chap. VIII. and Forbearance in the Spirit of Love, disoblige the *Whiggs*? Does the *Church of England* in particular, hinder Publick business and Preferment? Will any of her Articles spoil a *Chancellor*, or the *Rubrick* ruin a *Secretary*? Does he, that's Constant at *Chappel*, make the worse Figure at the *Council-board*? Or he that frequents *Westminster Abby*, become a Stranger presently to *Westminster Hall*? No, *Phil*, the Case is so very plain, that I dare even Appeal to you, as Judge in't: The *Papists* you know, are cashier'd on all Hands: The *Presbyterians*, you say, led the *Van to Tyranny and Ecclesiastical Usurpation*, which is High Treason, and the other Sects you declare to be, by their very Principles, Incapable of Governing: it remains therefore, that the *Church of England*, which opposes all these, ought to Govern 'um all; besides, She is the *Majority*, and therefore has a Right to govern; well then may the Clergy address their Lay-Governors in that truly *Apostolical Form*, *We thank God, ye do Reign, that we also may Reign with you.*

P. Prithee, *Tim*, do but muster up thy Sett of *Ministers*, and see what *Heroes* thou hast amongst them: I'll warrant half a Score Vertues will go a great Way in the whole Sett.

T. Lookye, *Phil*, there is a Sort of Gods, who tho' they may fall, yet 'tis a Blasphemy, to revile them; Besides, there's many a Man proves bad, only because he has been represented as such; Some, like Women, will have the *Sweets* of a Lost Reputation, when once they have had the *Scandal*; Others, are spurr'd on by Opposition, into Extreame they never

\* Exod. 22.  
28.



never thought of, Suspicion has lost the best *Chap. VIII.*  
Friends, and when once a Man is hunted out  
of Company, because he has been blow'd up  
on a little, 'tis Natural, and a Sort of Re-  
venge, for him to resort to the next Herd  
that will receive him; Another Sort, that  
Trim'd out of Principle, supposing, they  
should keep the *Motion* right, by swaying like  
*Pendulums*, as much to one Side, as to t'other:  
have been made zealously and furiously in the  
Wrong, by being too rigorously handled, by  
those that were too furiously in the Right;  
for my Part, I look upon Great Men impar-  
tially: not as they are disguis'd by *Party-Poets*  
and *Pamphleteers*, with nothing but Vertues  
about 'um, or nothing but Vices: I take 'um  
as they are Men, with *One*, and lyable to the  
*other*; The *Whigs* shall never persuade me,  
but that *His Grace* is a Great Orator and an  
Equitable Judge: Nor the *Tories* but that my  
Lord *H—* has Wit and Sweetness in Abun-  
dance; Sir *John* is always talking for the  
Church, and Sir *William* always at it: One's  
the *Pillar*, and t'other the *Buttress*: One sup-  
ports the Church by being always *in't*, and  
t'other by being always *out on't*, and yet I be-  
lieve the Edifice would not fall, if both of 'um  
were taken away; He that tells Lyes, or talks  
Scandal, or Scolds for the Church, is very  
bad: He that does all this against the Church,  
is worse, and 'tis easy to find a better Man  
than both; He that goes to Prayers four times  
a Day, has no good Title to a Place of Profit, if  
he can't tell Money regularly, and does not  
understand Accounts: Nor should he, I think,  
be much encourag'd, that Drinks all the Af-  
ternoon

Chap. VIII. *ternoon, and receives Complaints and hears*  
*Causes all the Morning; He that undervalues*  
*my Lord G——, because he is by some call'd*  
*a Tory, may as well dislike him because he is*  
*itself a Lord, for one's a Title as well as to-*  
*ther: and he that won't allow my Lord S——*  
*Vertues, because he passes for a Whig, takes*  
*Shadows for Substances, has a Party-Mist*  
*before his Eyes; and may as well mistake, the*  
*Wigg for the Man, or the Coronet for the Bu-*  
*ron; In Days of Yore, when a Patriot was a*  
*Patriot, and a Hero a Hero: Men were Crea-*  
*tures, we could in some Measure comprehend:*  
*but now, besides those Sir-Names which be-*  
*long to the Family, Great Folks have taken*  
*up a Nick-Name from a Party, and that makes*  
*him hard to read, and harder to understand,*  
*especially, since the New Invention is come up*  
*of Implicative Vertues and Vices; To see an*  
*Arch-wag banter his Neighbour with a few*  
*hard Names, Blacken him all over with Ink,*  
*tye a Dish-clout to his Tail, or Clap a Fool's*  
*Cap on his Head, is no more than what Merry*  
*Andrews do dayly to their Masters: but shew*  
*me a Man really deform'd, and I can call him*  
*Lord, and laugh at him, and yet this is the*  
*Generation of all our Publick Maygames and*  
*Seatocrums; Now, to make a Party merely for*  
*the Sake of Great Men, is as ridiculous as to*  
*raise an Army merely for the Sake of a Gene-*  
*ral; Indeed we Gentlemen Scoundrels, and*  
*Members of the Mob, are told, that our good*  
*Words and good Opinions are free, and we*  
*may dispose of him where we think fit: but*  
*for the most Part, Greater People than we*  
*take us very deservedly for Idiots, and that of*  
 Course

Course we ought to be in the *Custody* of our Chap. VIII.  
 Betters; In truth, *Phil*, all Elections are Cir-  
 cular, and as it was in a celebrated Case, the  
 elected first chose their Electors & then they are  
 chosen by *them*; Now a sufficient Number of  
 the People make a thing, call'd a *Publick Geni-*  
*us*: which is never to be displeas'd at any  
 time, for fear he fly out at the Window in a  
 Pett, and carry away Part of the House with  
 him; and this *Genius*, attending upon a great  
 Man, secures him from evil Acts and Acci-  
 dents, or which is all one, makes his evil  
 Acts bear as bright a Colour as his good Ones;  
 But then, the People being a Mass of jarring  
 Incoherent *Individuals*, it is a very difficult  
 Matter to unite 'em in a *Publick Body*; the  
 Ancient Way was, by prescribing *Laws, Sta-*  
*tures, Creeds, Articles, and Collections of Prin-*  
*ciples*, but this in time was found to be a rea-  
 dy Way of Setting them together by the Ears;  
 Now a *Politician*, like a subtle *Schoolman*, when  
 he goes to Work, and finds such a Medley of  
 Incoherent Notions got together, which 'tis  
 his Interest to reconcile, and yet which will  
 not readily be brought under the usual Me-  
 thods of *Distinguishing*, he makes short work,  
 and presently jumbles 'em together into one  
 hard Unintelligible Term, and that does the bu-  
 siness effectually; Now, this Term is to follow  
 the Rules of *Grammar*, and the known Me-  
 thod of *Human Imposition*, and consequently,  
 must signify, whatever the *Inventor* pleases:  
 suppose the Name be *Whig*, or which is all one  
 a *This-thingarian*, or *Tory*, alias a *That-thingari-*  
*an*: This is a mighty pretty Epitome of the  
*Creed, Articles, Canons, and Commandments,*  
 and



Chap. VIII. and is of singular Use to those, who have neither Leisure nor Abilities for thinking: and thus a Nation comes to grow Great and Flourishing, where instead of the King's keeping a *single Fool*, and he in Common to the whole Court: every great Man belonging to't, shall keep at least *ten or twelve thousand* to his own Share.

P. Prithee of which Sort art thou, *Tim*, *Whig*, or *Tory*? If thou would'st but declare thy self, I should soon tell how to deal with thee,

T. But the Terms! *Phil*, the Terms! Do they signify *two standing Regiments*? Or are they *Methods of Fortification*?

P. Pretty Innocence; As if thou did'st not know?

T. Let me be *Dewitted*, if I do.

P. Guess, *Tim*!

T. Why, perhaps in certain Publick Diversions, and Military Performances, they may be, a short Method of answering those Important Questions, and Examples of the *Imperative Mood*, as—*stand!*—*Who goes there?*—*What are you?*—*Who are you for?*—

P. Guess agen, *Tim*!

T. Why, it may be, since the Disuse of Bows and Butts, and upon the coming up of the new City device, of Contending every where but in the *Field*: They are, certain Marks chalk'd out to shoot at, or perhaps *Watch-words* and Terms of War, for dividing the Main Body, in Order to keep up the true old *British* Valour, and make us do that in Earnest, which our Ancestors always jested with, till they got on t'other side the *Herring-Pond*.

P. No,

P. No, *Tim*, 'tis not comes to blows yet.

T. Then belike, these are two cowardly  
*Seconds* to two old brave *Principals*, *Cavalier*,  
and *Roundhead*?

P. Still thou art Wrong.

T. Ay? Prithee tell me then, what they  
say of themselves.

P. Why the *Whigs* say, they are *Honest*  
*Men*.

T. And what say the *Tories*?

P. That they are *Honest Men* too.

T. But what do they say of one another?

P. The *Whigs* say the *Tories* are *R——*

T. Well, and the *Tories*——

P. ——say, that the *Whigs*, are *R——*

T. Is there no middle Sort, by which they  
may be try'd;

P. Yes, they talk of a middle Sort, that  
have some of *one* and some of *'other*.

T. What some *Honesty* and some *Roguary*?  
An Arch Medley that!——Well! But hither-  
to, I see they are pretty much alike, and it  
seems strange, there should be any Difference  
between 'um——which of the two thrives and  
prosper best?

P. Sometimes *one*, sometimes *'other*.

T. Well! When they meet, I suppose  
there's some slaughter made?

P. Not a Man *kill'd*, but a World of *De-*  
*serters* go over.

T. That, I presume, is according as the  
Armies are pay'd.

P. Nay, the *Desertion* is so great, that  
there's very few Men in the Army, but what  
have been on both Sides at one time or other.

T. And as far as I see, they are in the

Chap. VIII.

Right on't: He, that changes from Nothing to Nothing, makes no Change at all, and is a Man of Principles and Constancy: for as yet I see no Difference, but only fighting for fighting's Sake, *An Exercise at Arms*, engaging for a *Bloody Nose* or a *Broken Head*; Wounds and *Griming Honour* are the Reward of the Combat, such as *Talgol* got when he encounter'd *Orson*; In this Case, he that's beaten has the best Share of the Prize and Glory; but then like *Honest Rusticks*, they ought to go to't *Civilly*, to shake Hands first, and to bear no Malice nor Hatred in their Hearts.

See Sir  
John Fal-  
staff.

P. Still thou mistak'st the Matter: 'twas not fighting merely for fighting's Sake.

T. What then? Was Religion the Quarrel?

P. Why, according to Custom, *She* had a small Hand in the Matter: But, you must know, there was an Enemy in Sight, and they differ'd in the Method of Dealing with Him: some were for attacking him in *Form*, and others declar'd for a *Personal Treaty*.

T. And so, because they would have fighting somewhere, when they could not agree about Quarrelling with their Enemies, they e'en fell foul on one another?

P. No, No, *Tim*, not so neither.

T. Why then, to be sure, they could not fight for laughing?

P. And thou may'st join in the Merriment, *Tim*, if thou pleasest: but still there's a Wide Distinction between *Whig* and *Tory*.

T. Most certainly, for one Name begins with a *T*, and t'other with a *W*.

P. Ay,



P. Ay, but they differ in Reality, as well Chap. VIII.  
as in Name.

T. Are they different *Sects* in Religion?

P. No.

T. Are they different *Forms* in Government?

P. No.

T. Have they any *Creeds*, *Articles*, *Associations*, or *Compacts*, by which they know one another afunder?

P. No, But still the *Whigs* say the *Tories* are for absolute Power and Popery.

T. Well, and what do the *Tories* say?

P. That, the *Whigs* are for Anarchy and Confusion.

T. Which is but one Remove off from Popery and absolute Power.

P. But 'tis generally thought, the *Whigs* are in the Right.

T. Who thinks so?

P. Why, the *Whigs*.

T. And don't *Tories* think *Tories* in the Right?

P. Questionless, but then the Generality of the People seem to be pleas'd—

T.—With those that are uppermost.

P. However, things seem best manag'd under the *Whigs*.

T. Which *Whigs*, the Old or New?

P. However, 'tis not under the *Tories*.

T. Which of the *Tories*, the reform'd *Tories* or those of the *Old Corps*.—Besides, Success is but a Mob Argument of true Merit, and perhaps the whole Management is shar'd: for I have hear'd old stanch *Politicians* say, that for one Party to give, and t'other to take, is the best Method of Getting a Clear Account:

Chap. VIII. for they'll be sure to watch one another.

*P.* And do'st thou really think, that—  
*His Grace*—and *my Lord*—and *Sir William*—are to be compar'd to.—

*T.* Cry Mercy! Then, it seems we are got all o' the Sudden to *New-Market*, and *Whig* and *Tory* are the same thing with the *Red*, and the *Blue*, and the *Yellow*, or the *Bay*, and the *Brown*, and the *Chestnut*: and whilst they run for the Plate, we who have no share in't, must go together by the Ears?

*P.* Come! Come! *Tim*! Thou shalt't never persuade me, but one of these Parties has a Horrid Enmity to the Government.

*T.* Why ay, When one Side is uppermost, they call themselves the Government, and expect not to be oppos'd, and 'tis just the same Case with t'other side.

*P.* Can'st thou tell how to reconcile 'um?

*T.* No, for they Quarrel for Quarrelling's Sake.

*P.* If they fight for nothing, one would think it were easy to part 'um.

*T.* Oh! So much the more difficult: They, that fight for Peace, will readily Communicate their *Preliminaries*: They that go to Law, will be content to come to an Issue: But they that fight for nothing, must fight for ever: because *Nothing* can never be divided, or treated for; and to talk of a Reconciliation to those, that Quarrel for Quarrelling's Sake, is directly violating the Main End of their making War, and like a sly Thief, running away with the Prize, whilst others are in the midst of the Rencounter.

*P.* Pri-

P. Prithee, *Tim*, what makes thee so violently concern'd about parting these Champions? Chap. VIII.

T. Why, does it not heartily vex all true *English* Heroes, and Hearts of Mettle, that understand the real Value of *Broken Heads*, and what Precious Things have and may still be purchas'd by a few *knocks* of the *Crown* and *Bloody Noses*, to consider seriously, that in a Nation of Men, not yet quite staring, nor altogether stupify'd, these two idle Words, neither of which really signifies the *Devil*, or is able to raise him, should yet do such a World of Mischief? Nay, there's as much Sense in the two first Letters, as in all the rest of the *Syllables*, and yet I question whether they would be more terrible, if *T* stood for *Tyburn* and *W* for *Whipping-Post*.

P. A sad Outcry of Mischief, this of thine!

T. Why is it, that we take to Planting of *Laurels* so much, but for fear of being overrun with *Cypress* and *Rosemary*? Have we not every day more and more Reason to applaud the Glorious *Tragedies* of *Hochstet*, and *Ramellies*, because they prevented the Acting of a few Obscene, Ridiculous *Farces* upon another Stage? What is become of those two once Reigning *Toasts*, Charity and Good Nature? Whither is *Hospitality* retir'd, a Jolly Dame, Perfum'd with Spices, and Nutmegs, drawn in a Silver Chariot, emboss'd with Bowls, Tankards, and Battypanns, by Geese, Ducks, and Turkeys? Oh! I could recite such Melancholy Complaints from my two old Hearty and Honourable Friends, Sir *Layn*, and Sir *Rumpus*! Could resound such hollow Groans from the Depart-

• *Invisa  
Cupressus.  
Horat.*



Chap. VIII. ed *Hoyhead* and *Kilderkin*? Such enchanting  
 Elegies upon *Mist'd Pies* and *Custard*, more  
 Poetical, than those that once help'd to support  
 him. But I forbear the ungrateful Re-  
 membrance of past Pleasures: and what have  
 we got in their stead, but the Devil upon two  
 Sticks, *Whig* and *Tory*.

P. *Adas*, poor *Timothy*!

T. Now, what is, *Whig* and *Tory*, but—

\* See most of the Modern Pamphlets.  
 You are a *Rogue*!—And you are a *Rascal*!  
 And, He's the Son of a *Whore*!—Down  
 with that *Blockhead*!—and—No *Jacobites*!  
 no *Presbyterian*!—Is there any thing in all  
 this, comparable to the *Tongs* and the *Keys*,  
 the *Gulp* of the *brown Bowl*, the sound of the  
*Adorringballs*, or the *Wit* of a *Christmas-Gambol*?

P. *Brithee*, *Tim*! leave *Whine*, and talk  
 like a *Man*, and a *Politician*.

T. *Whig* and *Tory* won't let me.

P. Then thou'rt ill-natur'd, *Tim*!

T. 'Tis all the fault of *Whig* and *Tory*.

P. Why then be a little *Satyrical*.

T. *Whig* and *Tory* spoil *Satyr*, for they  
 make it *partial*.

P. Then talk *Systems* and *Syllogisms*.

T. *Whig* and *Tory* are strong bars to all sorts  
 of *Consequences*.

P. Why then jest, and be merry a little.

T. *Whig* and *Tory* are sad *Fellows*.

P. Why then tell a *Story* or *Two*, *Tim*.

T. *Whig* and *Tory* are the utter ruin of *Hi-*  
*storians*.

P. Why then hold thy *Tongue*, *Tim*!

T. *Whig* and *Tory* will make a *Cat speak*.

P. What

P. What shall we do then, Tim?

T. Mischief.

P. Why so.

T. Because *Whig* and *Tory* will scarce let us do any thing else.

P. How, Tim?

T. Positively, nothing else——Lookye, *Phil*, let either Party be as *popishly* inclin'd as they please, neither of 'em is infallible, they may err sometimes: and if any one of that Side finds it out, yet he dares not contradict it: so, is oblig'd to do mischief, for fear of being put out of the Power of doing good.

P. Perhaps, Tim, all this while, they differ only in their *Schemes* and *Models*.

T. Why then, let 'um *Snack* and *Club*, and make a good one out of both; *Masons*, *Bricklayers* and *Architects*, differ in their *Schemes* and *Models*: but they don't presently knock their *Fellows* on the Head with *Pick-axes*, or throw *Dirt* at one another with their *Shovels*.

P. Nay, Tim, if this be the way of *Whig* and *Tory*, 'tis high time to put 'um down.

T. Ay, but how shall it be done? Suppose we deal by it, as certain Artists do by a *Distinction* of the *Schools*, or great *Pleaders* by a *Law Term*, divide it, and subdivide it, till 'tis lost to all *Intents* and *Purposes*?

P. Why that has been attempted: We have *Whigs* and *Tories*, *New* and *Old*, *Red-hot* and *Luke-warm*, *Violent* and *Moderate*, *Common* and *Proper*: for besides those upon the *Publick*, there are *Burrows*, *Warrens*, and *Chaces* of *Whigs* and *Tories*, which the *Gentry* and *Nobility* keep for *Sport* and *Pleasure*,

or

Chap. VIII. or for the Use of their Tables, and their own private spending; but still, this way has not effectually tam'd 'um.

T. Why put the Case, we take the same Method, as is usual in the Business of Oaths and Curses: for your hearty Swearers are hardly to be reclaim'd, unless by substituting a new Sett of more innocent and harmless Imprecations, such as——*By my Life!*——*Let me dye!* or, *As I live!*——in the room of Blood! Wounds! and other terrible Rappers; Thus, suppose we should lay aside *Whig* and *Tory*, and in their stead, take *Scaramouch* and *Harlequin*, *Merry Andrew* and *Doctor*, *Noddy* and *Ninnyhammer*? this would soon make the Fashion ridiculous, and serve us in the mean time, under all the Circumstances of *Droll*, *Comedy*, and *Farce*.

P. But there's a Consent to be ask'd.

T. Why so? Must they e'en plague us as long as they please? Our Ancestors heretofore made Laws against \* *Hooded Men*, and the Moderns have provided as well against *Gypsies*, and they that profess *Whigg* and *Tory*, are, I think, a much worse sort of Conjurers, that shake us Hypocritically by the Hand, cheat us of our Pennies, and tell us our Fortunes, without any Mixture of the Happy and Prosperous.

P. No Persecution I beseech thee, *Tim*! our good *Queen* knows how to manage all Parties to the Best Advantage.

T. True, and if *Whigg* and *Tory* are of any use, 'tis that they increase the Glories of her *Reign*, show us how vastly excellent she is, and give her every day new Opportunities, of exerting

\* See the  
Satures.



exerting all those shining Vertues, which are Chap. VIII.  
 alike numerous and extensive; When a Nation  
 is divided against it self, how mighty is that  
 Arm, which can support it! When we are  
 crumbl'd into Parties and Factions, tearing,  
 worrying, and devouring one another, no-  
 thing less than a Wisdom, infinitely Superior to  
 a whole Nation thus confus'd, could divert all  
 that Hurry of Passion and Rage, and make it  
 serviceable against the common Enemy; nothing  
 less than the most exalted and consummate  
 Vertue; could make it self amidst such horrid  
 Distractions, the Publick Center and Point of  
 Unity, in which we are all pleas'd to be re-  
 concil'd; I dare not compare such Conduct  
 with the Wisdom of a Deborah or an Eliza-  
 beth, or the more awful Majesty of one of  
 those executing Angels, that can direct a Storm,  
 and do justice with a Whirlwind, an Idea, not  
 improperly apply'd even to 'one of the Sub-  
 jects of so great a Monarch, but I must say, it  
 falls but some degrees short of that Infinite  
 Power and Wisdom, which is in Alliance  
 with it, which makes the Out-goings of the  
 Morning and Evening and all the Jarring Ele-  
 ments to praise him, *Which stilleth the raging  
 of the sea, and the noise of his waters, and the  
 madness of the People.*

See Mr.  
 Addison's  
 Poem, on  
 the Cam-  
 paign.

Psal. 65.  
 7.

P. Prithee, Tim. in the midst of thy Rhapsodies, don't forget the true Origin and Source of Government, the People.

T. What, the Many! the Multitude! Why they are the Perfection and Essence of all true Greatness: Numbers are the Beginning of Learning, the Foundation of Faith and Religion: These make the World, and what is

See Lock's  
 Essay.

Govern-

Chap. VIII. Government but the *Summ Total of Animal*  
*Atoms*; He that can *divide* is an Artist, but hap-  
 py is he that can *collect* and *multiply*; Singula-  
 rity is certainly a Vice, and he that stands by  
 himself, whatever he may be in *Grammar*, is  
 in *Politicks* a Creature, that has certainly oc-  
 casion of *Keepers*; Alas! we are weak Crea-  
 tures we can do nothing of our selves, our  
 Neighbours must help us, and this, you  
 know, is the very Foundation of Society; A  
*Hundred Thousand Men* make a *General*; A  
*Thousand a Knight of the Shire*; *Five Hundred*  
*a Burgess*; *Thirty Burgesses* make a *Patriot*;  
*Twenty Rusticks* make a *Squire*; *Ten Lanthorns*  
 make a *Constable*; *Six Fellows* in one Office  
 make a *Beau*, and a *single Fellow* in *Six Offices*  
 makes a *Country Gentleman*; Now of these  
 Numbers, it is requir'd that they should ne-  
 ver keep silence, but when their Leaders speak  
 to 'um: for Noise is especially necessary, when  
 they are upon Business, and that Cur is certain-  
 ly naught, that won't open when the Scent's  
 strong, and the Game almost in view; when  
 they are call'd over, they must be sure to An-  
 swer to their Names, that no part of the  
 Company be lost, otherwise the Captain is in  
 danger of being cashier'd; I remember a very  
 Arch<sup>i</sup> Casuist desires to know, How many  
 Ships make a Pyrate? and, How many an Ad-  
 miral? Major General<sup>b</sup> Trim is a little more  
 positive in Relation to the *Land Service*, for  
 after the Muster of his ragged Recruits, he  
 makes this Learned Reflection, *A Million or*  
*Two of these Fellows make an Alexander*: which  
 an<sup>c</sup> ingenious Expositor elsewhere varies in the  
 Case of Two Newgateers, Storm and Char-  
 coal,

<sup>i</sup> See Kil-  
 ling no  
 Murder.

<sup>b</sup> See the  
 Funeral.

<sup>c</sup> See the  
 Lying  
 Lovers.

coal, You two, says he, are infamous, for what Two Millions of you had been Glorious; Thus you see, into what strange Dilemma's Ambition and your Principles will lead a Man, when they put him upon the Lay, of being either a Hero or a Highwayman.

P. Since thou art in an open Humour, I'll pump thee once more, Tim, What do'st thou think of the Revolution and Power of Parliaments?

T. Ay now, Phil! now you have put a Brace of Topics into my Hands, that will exhaust all my Tropes and Figures, drain all my Allegories and Metaphors, and leave me as dry as a young Tory, when he has declaim'd upon the Business of Forty One. Methinks, when I survey my Chamber, and see Jewel, and Hooker, and Sanderson, all safe upon their Shelves: the Common Prayer-Book lying securely in the Window, and the Bible near it, both entirely English. When I behold the Floor and Ceiling, free from the Mark of the Beast, and no Crucifixes, nor Agnus Deis, among my empty Bottles and Tobacco-pipes: When I hear the little College Bell, calling me to Prayers and to Dinner: When I can be contented with seeing His Holiness, but once in the Year, and can then warm my self at the Bonfire, without singeing my Fingers: When I can very justly resent the scandalous Appellation of Son of a Whore, because my Mother is still unravish'd, and my good Dad had no Soldiers to quarter: How must it rejoice the very Heart and Soul of me, to contemplate these mighty Blessings every moment I enjoy them?



Chap. VIII. them? and what expence must I be at in *Thanks* and *Healts* to my Deliverers?

P. Well, *Tim*, all this is well enough.

T. But now, *Phil*!

P. Ay now, *Tim*!

T. Can I see the *Power* of *Parliaments*, which some Men long to provoke to make themselves talk'd of, that *Power*, which has so often sav'd us, and is every day contriving our Happiness, that August Body, into which when the People are duly gather'd and collected, they are then truly a great and wise and understanding Nation, slighted and condemn'd by one, whom an *equitable* Construction of that Clause, whereby all Persons *under age* are forbid to *vote*, would utterly exclude from all share in *Elections*? Can I see that Hand which sav'd me, defil'd with Ink and Dirt, Maim'd, Cut, and Disjointed?

P. Prithee, *Tim*! who has done all this, about which thou mak'st so much Clamour?

T. Nay, *Phil*, bring all your Gang of Satyrs with you, I shall want a great deal of Assistance to make my Resentments just and proportionable; What will you say to the Man, that comes and tells you, that not the Majority of a qualify'd Number, but of the whole Rabble and Multitude, make the true Representatives of the People; that this *Representation* does not depend upon set Times and Periods for its Continuance, but may be withdrawn whenever the Persons represented Please, and for what Reasons they think fit; that they may alter the Form of their *Representation*, and commit it to more or less Hands, or if they think fit devolve the Whole upon a single

single Person; that all publick Engagements, *in Futurum*, are against Nature: since, every State depends upon the Consent of the present Generation; that *Constitutions* are illegal, because frequent *Alterations* are *Jure Divino*; Here, Phil! here's the *Lords*, the *Commons*, the *Abjuration*, the *Succession*, all struck off at a Blow! A few of these Doctrines, if the Devil could possibly get 'um into Practice, would make us abundance of *Gunpowder Treasons*; Methinks, when one or two of these Conclusions rattle in mine Ears, they gather as they rowl like Thunder: I hear as it were the *Rushing of the Flood*, and the *Noise of many Waters*.

P. I speak the *Rights of Nature*, Tim!

T. Ay, and one of 'um is, *To have nothing establish'd by Law*: How arch now is that upon the *Parliament*! as your other Principles gave 'um no Power, this will suffer 'um to have no Business.

P. Prithee, Tim! what is the *Parliament* but the People.

T. Why really, Phil, I don't know how 'tis in your *Utopia*, But with us there are *Lords Spiritual* and *Temporal*, whom, because they do not derive their Authority from your Source and Fountain of all Power, therefore I suppose you won't deign to remember, provided they are pleas'd to forget you; And that other House, an essential, and truly noble and magnificent Part of the main Structure, in which our Religion, Laws, Liberties, and all our Interests, are safely treasur'd and repositied, would soon sink and totter, if all those wholesome Laws of Parliaments, by which their

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Periods and Returns are guided, their Numbers fix'd, and the Form of their Pow'r made lasting, and I hope eternal, may be thrown down and abolish'd by the arbitrary Dictates of a giddy Multitude, and a State of wild Nature take place of a Constitution, polish'd and adorn'd by the nicest and most consummate Art.

P. I protest, *Tim*, were I the Man thou tak'st me to be, I should be ashamed to look People in the Face.

T. And yet if you turn your Back, be sure you look over your Shoulder, for fear of being assaulted from behind; Well, *Phil*, there's the *French King*, you can't think how much you are beholden to him!

P. How, *Tim*, to the *French King*?

T. Ay, *Phil*, for whilst we are busy in putting the finishing stroke to him, whilst all our Hands and Hearts are in *Flanders*, whilst we are just going to Racket with Cannon Balls against the Walls of *Paris*, we have no leisure to mind every Squib and Cracker that flies about here at home upon a *Lord Mayor's Show*; And do you think, the jolly Huntsman, that is in full Chase after a *Wild Boar*, will stop his Career to encounter a *Snake* or a *Hedge Hogg*?

P. All this while, thou hast forgot the *Revolution*.


T. No, nor I never shall: I don't use to forget an old Friend so very hastily.

P. Well, *Tim*: What are thy *Revolution* Principles.

T. There, *Phil*, I distinguish upon you: I am for such Principles, as will justify the late

Happy



Happy *Revelation*, and not such as perhaps Chap. VIII  
 will make a thousand more that are not for;   
 they are the greatest Enemies to the *Revoluti-*  
*on*, who would puzzle and confound it; For  
 here are you now, coming down upon me  
 with a Rhetorical Medley of Contradictions;  
 a *Concordia Discors*, a Hurry of Certainties,  
 or as my Friend *Clincher* has it, a trifling Ac-  
 count of matters of importance, and yet I am  
 oblig'd to receive you, mounted like *Astolpho*,<sup>1 See Ari-</sup>  
 upon your *Hippogrypho*, tho' all your Business osto.  
 is to entertain me with an old merry Gambol,  
 which my Sister heretofore taught me, when  
 the arch Girl would rowl up her Handkerchief  
 as round as a Ball, and then desire me to find  
 the End on't.

To For my Part, *Tim*, I have Rights and  
 Principles enough from Nature to justify State  
 Turns and Alterations.

To Right, and according to you, whatever  
 comes uppermost, is Best, if it be but con-  
 firm'd by a Majority; your Politicians are in  
 the Words of one of your own *Similitudes*,  
 like *Monkeys*, they can skip to and fro, leap  
 from the Bellcony or Garret-window, they  
 never want something to cling and hold by,  
 but if they stay to form Arguments, or draw  
 Consequences, they certainly endanger the  
 breaking of their Necks; Let all such as these  
 keep out of the Glass-shop say I: but in *Con-*  
*stitutions* and settled States (please to allow of  
 the Term for once) the Motion is more regu-  
 lar, and every Step is conducted with forecast  
 and deliberation; Indeed the Transaction we  
 now speak of, was always thought to be too  
 Great for Human Wisdom, and therefore it is,

Chap. VIII. that so just a Share of it was ever allow'd to the Divine.

P. But thy Principles! *Tim*! thy Principles! What are they?

T. Can I be at a Loss, to account for a glorious Change, that sav'd us from Popery, freed us from a *French Yoke*, secur'd our Government, Laws, and Liberties, and gave us *Two Monarchs*, that have no Equal but one another? and can I bear to see your State of Nature brought down upon us, to destroy all Law? your *Elective Power* to level the Throne, and your Notion of a Mob, that may judge and depose their Sovereigns and Representatives, to put an End to all Liberty and Property, and all Government at once? and must these be trump't up in the room of *Abdication, Vacancy*, the necessary transferring of *Allegiance, Convention*, and *Recognition*, which alone did the Trick, and serv'd us faithfully when we had most Occasion for 'um, by such a *High-Church, Jacobitish, Popish Tarriv-man*? Help me to Call you, *Phil*! In short, you and your Gang are Enemies to the Revolution, and Disturbers of the Ghost of Serjeant *Maynard*; These are they, that would perplex the Conduct and Managery of that Glorious Deliverance, and corrupt the *Historical Faith* of all her Majesty's loving Subjects.

P. How their Historical Faith? Why then they only believe, there was such a thing transacted.

T. And is not that extremely Loyal? for the *Jacks* and *Highflyers* fancy, that the Kingdom is still theirs, and all the Glory thereof.

P. Dost

P. Dost thou say any thing to the contrary, Chap. VIII.

Tim?

T. No, for I have sworn to the contrary, and to call for the less Evidence after the greater, is neither like a Philosopher nor a Gentleman: and certainly that Nose must be often in danger, that grows in the Neighbourhood of so perverse a Headpiece.

P. 'Tis mighty well, Tim! mighty well: but now, what does it signify to swear to the *Revolution*, when one is not able to justify it?

T. How, Phil! Is it d'ye think so hard to justify the *Revolution*?

P. 'Tis impossible, without the Doctrine of *Resistance*.

T. What then? If a *limited* Resistance be lawful, Is your *unlimited* Resistance therefore a *Revolution-Principle*? God be thanked, 'twas never so very bad with us, but we had a Part of the *Legislature*, and some Governours left amongst us, and Laws and Statutes for our Guidance and Direction: What's all this to your Mob-management, and your *Israelitish* State, where every one was to do as *seem'd Right in their own Eyes*?

P. Were we not then in a State of Nature?

T. Ay, there you hit it, we were without Laws and without Government, Is this too a *Revolution Principle*? When in truth all our Design was to preserve both; I'm sure your account of that State is so very discouraging, that no body that's in't, but would be glad to get out of it, as fast as they can.



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P. Is it not lawful to oppose a *Popish* Tyrant? and is not this a *Revolution-Principle*?

T. But is not all Opposition to be restrain'd and limited by Publick Laws and Customs? May the Mob rise when they please? and for what they please? May the *unrepresented* Multitude oppose, how, or when, or whom, or for what they think fit, of all which, say you, they are the sole Judges? No, *Phil*, I'll tell you a much better Principle than that of opposing a *Popish* Prince: 'Tis, to have no *Popish* Prince at all: and because such a one would be very hard to deal with, therefore says the Law, He shall not reign over us. In short, *Phil*, all Opposition, as well as all Pow'r, must be determin'd by the Laws of a Nation: You are not to try Princes by the Law of Pamphlets, notwithstanding these are as wise as the old Heathens, and being *without Law*, are a *Law unto themselves*.

P. No, *Tim*, they have the Law of Nature.

T. That again. Why our Laws are the Laws of Nature, were made by the best National and Natural Reason that could be had, and 'tis unreasonable to oppose *private* Nature to publick.

P. Do the Laws deny the Right of Self-preservation?

T. No, But they establish and confirm it, and the Body of our Laws was made purely for the Self-preservation of the Publick, and therefore he that opposes those Laws, or would puzzle, or correct them, opposes Publick Self-preservation.

P. But may not an unnatural Prince destroy these Laws?

T. He

T. He may doubtless, and Ill-nature is catching, and the force of Examples, especially of Great Ones, very prevailing. But where the Government is, not intirely in a single Person, an unnatural Prince, who would destroy Nature, will always find a People to revive her; How happy are we, where these things are not at all to the Purpose, and who have no such Folk to deal with!

P. Have a care of reflecting upon Nature, Tim!

T. And do you have a care of spoiling her, she's a high mettled Steed, that serves us to ride out on in search of very good Game, if we can but govern her: But if some People spur her and kick her, whilst others hold her in and rein her, she'll knock the Bystanders on the head perhaps, or at least throw Dirt enough upon all that come near her.

P. But how shall we know this *Klavian* Nature from the Good?

T. 'Tis only taking a View of her under different Circumstances: She was a little wild and loose, under the Reign of *Adam* the I. and corrected and made better in the Reign of *Adam* the II. but then the Task will fall a little too hard upon you, who have no such *Kings* in your *Chronology*.

P. Indeed, Tim, I like her as I find her.

T. Perhaps so, and you may like the *Vegetative* Nature, and the *Animal* Nature, as well as the *Rational*: but unless they are look'd too and well manag'd, they'll still go on to breed Thorns and Bryars, Maggots and Monsters; However, if you suffer your self to be fool'd, you must not think to impose upon others;

Chap. viii, others: and when instead of wholesome Advice and Instruction, you have taken a Girl and debauch'd her, you shan't marry her to us for a Virgin, if we can have Honefter Women somewhere else.

P. All this while, we have forgot the Business of the Revolution.

T. And 'tis high time you should forget it, since you can't remember it as you should do; you are for spoiling a good *Precedent*, are resolv'd to take it upon your own Terms, and to make Revolution upon Revolution, e'er you can bring things to a Settlement; But for my part, I always take *Precedents*, as they are enter'd in our Books: And the Laws of the Revolution, are my Revolution Principles; As for your *Election*, *Coercion*, and *unlimited Resistance*, with the rest of your *Natural Rights*, I leave 'um to *Natural Fools*, to make as many Revolutions in Controversy as they please: I can laugh at 'um in a Libel or Pamphlet, so long as I'm sure I shan't find 'um in the *Reports* or *Senate-book*.

P. Is not Queen *Anne's* Government founded upon King *William's*, and upon the Revolution?

T. Lookye, *Phil*, the present and preceding Governments, and all the Governments in the World are founded, each upon its own Laws, as strengthen'd by the Sanctions of Religion; But then where are those Laws of *Election* and *unlimited Resistance*, which you talk of? the *Queen*, no doubt of it, owes the Crown she wears, to the Revolution: that's one Reason why we so much extol it: and would it not vex all true *English* Hearts, to see that glorious



glorious Transaction suffer between Two Chap. VIII.  
 dangerous *Extreams*, whilst some are for tri-  
 fling with it till it makes no change at all, no  
 not for the Better, and others would make it  
 signify whatever Changes they have a mind  
 to? in short, *Phil*, the Laws and Statutes of  
 the *Revolution* are the only best and truest *Re-*  
*volution-Principles*: I know not what Men  
 mean, when they talk of such Notions and  
 Strains of Resistance, as the *Revolution* took  
 no notice of: I'm sure 'tis some Degree of  
 Favour to 'um, to suppose, they have no mean-  
 ing at all.

P. I know, thou can'st be very malicious:  
 Prithee, what's thy Opinion of their Mean-  
 ing?

T. Their Meaning is bad enough, no  
 question.

P. Why so now, *Tim*?

T. Why these Principles can never be in fa-  
 vour of the *Late Revolution*, for that was ma-  
 nag'd without 'um: nor in favour of the pre-  
 sent Government, for that knows of no such  
 Law or Custom.

P. What's the Design of 'um then, *Tim*?

T. One may easily see that by their Tenden-  
 cy: 'Tis, to make Revolutions frequent and  
 ordinary, whenever some Humourists have a  
 mind to enslave us: and because we have had  
 one happy one, to run the Hazard of Forty  
 that perhaps may undo us; This is as bad as  
 the other Extream, both Deviations from the  
*Golden Point*, and both alike dangerous to the  
*Succession*, to *Monarchy*, and to all *Settlements*  
 and *Constitutions*; He who has thrown Dice for  
 his Life has little Reason to turn Gamester,  
 and

Chap. VIII. and if you once come to talk of changing for  
 changing Sake, there's a great King has ab-  
 solutely commanded me, to have nothing to  
 do with you.

<sup>a</sup> Prov. 24.  
 21.

P. Hast thou had any Tryal or Experience  
 of these Men, that they like *Revolutions* of all  
 Sorts?

P. Indeed, *Phil*, I know but few of 'um,  
 and I wish they were yet fewer; but there's an  
 exalted Writer, who has advanc'd your Noti-  
 on of unlimited Resistance, ev'n against the  
 last and present Parliament, in his renown'd  
 Comments upon the *Recruit Act*, who with his  
 now departed Brother, did very strenuously  
 promote these very *Revolution* Principles you  
 talk of, just at a *Crisis* when the *Pretender* was  
 coming over, to see if he could find any more  
*Revolutions* amongst us: and since upon his first  
 Appearance, they began to cry their Goods,  
 whatever their own Intentions might be, they  
 could not but encourage all those, who took  
 him for a Customer. In short, *Phil*, hear  
 what the *Parliament*, the *Laws*, and the *Judge*  
 say: The *Revolution*-Principles they teach us,  
 let us adhere to: But there's as much Differ-  
 ence between the Right of Self-defence, and  
 your Right of judging, executing, recalling  
 Representations, and altering the Govern-  
 ment to what Form the Multitude pleases, as  
 between the Glorious *Revolution* we have had,  
 and those many Imaginary *Revolutions*, that  
 are now working in your *Perioranium*.

P. Amidst all this Wrangle, *Tam*, I ob-  
 serve thou art very Shy of the two Famous  
 Doctrines of *Resistance* and *Non-Resistance*; art  
 thou afraid of Truth, or angry with me for  
 being

being once in the Right? For thou seest I Chap. VIII.  
preremptorily declare for the *First* of those  
two Notions.

T. Ay, but you declare for it in such a  
Sense, as I believe will gain you but few Fol-  
lowers; for thus stands the Difference: The  
Moderate Men say that Passive Obedience and  
Non-Resistance are good Doctrines, but not  
*Absolute* Passive Obedience and *Unlimited* Non-  
Resistance: You on the Contrary, are for *Ab-  
solute* Non-Obedience and *Unlimited* Resi-  
stance, because the Sovereignty is in the Peo-  
ple; They put only one Case in which Resi-  
stance is lawful, you say 'tis Lawful in all Cases  
of Male-Administration, for the People have  
the Judiciary Power, and may call to an ac-  
count when they please; They only plead for  
Self-defence, You for Censure, Deposition,  
and Execution; Their Resistance is Extraordi-  
nary, Yours Ordinary and Common, being  
the Usual process of the People's Judicatory;  
Their Resistance is intended for the Preservati-  
on of the Constitution, You contend for a  
Power to alter and change It; In short, you  
may delight your self in the Repetition of a  
few Terms and Words, that you think fan-  
cy'd by the World and Fashionable: but if  
you'll take Words as some Men do Oaths in  
your own Sense, 'Tis all talking like an Apo-  
thecary: Though the Inscription upon the  
Gally-pots be Medicinal, yet the inside may  
be poyson.

P. Prithee, Tim, What's thy Opinion in  
this Matter?

T. Oh! the very same that I us'd to have;  
my Opinion is still, that a Man may hold th  
Contra-



Chap. VIII. Contradiction to you, and yet not be in the  
 ~~~~~ Wrong for all that.

P. What then thou art for the *Tory Rory*.—

T. Hold a little, *Philath*! I have nothing to do at present either with *Whig* or *Tory*, my business is altogether with you; and if I can prove, that the Obedience due to Kings and Magistrate from the People their Subjects, is of quite another sort than what you contend for: I think after that, 'tis nothing at all to your purpose or mine, what becomes of *Whig* and *Tory*.

P. Well, *Tim*! lets hear thy proofs.

T. In the first Place then I desire you would give me leave to make use of the

* Rom. 13. * *Scriptures* in this Case, which if taken in the
 1. Pro. 8. most Natural and Simple Sense, do only not posi-
 15. 2 Chr. tively assert the Divine Right of Magistrates,
 19. 6. Exo. their Supremacy, Power of the Sword, and
 22. 28. Ec- Coercion of Evil Doers, but forbid us under
 cl. 10. 20. the severest Penalties, to think or speak evil of
 Rom. 13. 2. them, to usurp their Power, or refuse Obedi-
 Psalm 82. ence to their Commands, or to rebel against
 6. 2 Sam. their Authority; Now what can be more op-
 12. 7. 1 posite to this than to say, that the Magistrate
 Kin. 12. 7. has no Divine Right, that the Supremacy is
 1 Sam. 16. in the People; that they are the Force, and
 14. Item have the Power of the Sword, and that Kings
 Ver. 9. Joh. may be in the Number of those Evil Doers
 6. 15. Mat. whom 'tis their Right to restrain: that 'tis
 17. 27. lawful to Censure, Accuse and Condemn
 Mat. 22. 21. them, that they are to obey the Peoples Com-
 John 19. mands, and that even good Kings may be re-
 15. Mar. 6. sisted, for a Judgment pronounc'd by a Competent
 18. Luke 3. Authority is valid, though not Right. Agreeable
 14. 1 Pet. 2. to the Sense of Scripture is the Concurrent
 15. Rom. Testi-
 13. 1.
 Jude 8.
 Gal. 1. 8.

Testimony of the first Bishops and Fathers of the Church; ^p Those of the First Three Hundred Years are full to this purpose: ^q Those of the Three succeeding Centuries equally Unanimous: And still this Doctrine continu'd to the Ninth Century, as appears by the Writings of the most ^r Learned of those times; Nay even long after the Corruption of Rome began to spread and mingle with the Truths of Christianity, and notwithstanding the Pope began to claim the Supremacy by title from St. Peter, ^s there were not wanting Men of the true Primitive Temper, and of those some even Popes themselves and others that own'd his Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction, who are all consenting to this Doctrine of Obedience to Princes; It is very remarkable, that notwithstanding the Church was pester'd with many and strong Contentions about other Articles of Religion, yet this was never question'd or doubted of, though the Church was in those Days under the severest Tryals of Oppression and Persecution, that any Age was ever acquainted with; and the same Doctrines were still preach'd under Nero, Commodus, Domitian, and the worst of Emperors, nor was the State of the Question owing to the then Constitution of the Secular Government, for 'tis Notorious that the very same Principles still obtain'd even after the Empire be-

Chap. VIII.

^p Justin

Mar. ad

Ant. Imp.

113. Ter-

tul. ad Scap.

St. Cyprian

ad Deme-

trian.

^q Hosius a-

pud Atha-

nas. ad soli.

Liberius. a-

pud Atha-

nas. ib. Hi-

lar. ad Im-

per. Constan-

Athanaf.

ad Antioch.

It. ad Con-

stan. Imp.

Gregor.

Nazian. O-

rat. ad fun.

St. Bas.

Monod.

Naz. Inter

opus Basil.

fo. 95. St.

Ambr. O-

rat. ad Pop.

Ep. 32. 33.

Amb. Ep.

ad Marcel.

35. St. Au-

gust. in

Psal. 124.

Optatus de Schis. Dona. li. 3. St. Cyril Com. in Evang. Jo. l. 6. 12. c. 3.
 St. Chrysostom Ep. ad Tim. c. 2. v. 1. Grego. Mag. Ep. l. 7. Ep. 1.
 Gregory Turo. Hist. l. 5. c. 1. Isidor. Damascen. Parallel. l. c. 21. Ful-
 gentius ad Thras. Reg. Beda l. 4. Ep. f. in Sam. Leo Cap. de Capi. Dist.
 Otho Fridlin. Epis. Ded. ad Barbarossam. Gratian. Caus. 23. ques. 8. pa-
 rag. 1. Vincen. Spec. His. l. 15. c. 84. Aeneas Syl. Pi. de Ort. & Auth.
 Imper. c. 23. Phil. Pul. ad Boni.

came

Chap. VIII. came *Elective*; Nor was it want of Power or
 Deficiency in the Number of their Party or
 Forces, that deter'd the Christians from ri-
 sing against their wicked Governors; but pure
 Conscience and Principle: For *Terullian* obvi-
 ates this very Objection, and says, they had a
 Majority in the City, the Country, the Camp,
 the Court, and the Tribunal: and *Maurice*
 Captain of the Famous *Theban* Legion dis-
 claims that Safety, which was to be obtain'd
 by the Sword, in Opposition to the Emperor's
 Officers who were appointed to decimate that
 Legion; Nay, 'twas the Army that after *Jul-
 ian's* Death chose *Jovian* to be Emperour, and
 they give this Reason for't, *Christiani sumus*,
 and 'tis plain they had the Majority even in
Julian's time when they marched against the
Persians. In an admirable Conformity to the
 Scriptures and Primitive Profession of the
 Church, were the Homilies, Liturgy, Arti-
 cles, Canons, and all other publick Declara-
 tions of the Church of England compil'd and
 establish'd, and the Publick Oaths and Sub-
 scriptions are founded upon the same Princi-
 ple; To this Doctrine the Foreign * Reform'd
 Churches do unanimously consent, which is
 manifest from their Canons and Confessions;
 The * Civil Lawyers are intirely of the same
 Judgment; and to repeat the several Opinions
 of English Judges, Bishops, Doctors, and o-
 ther Protestant Writers, were endless and Su-
 perfluous; * *Luther*, the great Captain of our
 Reformation, is full and express in this Case;
 So are our own earliest and most renown'd Re-
 formers, * *Granmer*, * *Tindal*, and * *Jewel*, fol-
 lowing the Roman.

* *Sleidan. Lib. Com. 5. p. 115.* * *De Christian. Hom. Inffit.* * *De Christian. Hom. Obed.* * *Contra Harding Artic. Suprem.* low'd

low'd by an innumerable Cloud of Witnesses Chap. VIII.
all unanimous to the same Purpose; the Foreign
Managers of the Presbyterian Form, carry'd
this Doctrine very high, as appears by severals
of their best Writers, and here in *England*,
the most Moderate and Learned of that Sect
always profess'd it with the greatest Zeal and
Sincerity Imaginable; Thus you see *Phil.*
what a rare Example you have made your self
of Singularity and Opposition; for in this
Debate, it is not Material to enquire, how
high or how far, these great Men carry the
Doctrine of Passive Obedience, or whether
they hold it in an absolute unlimited Sense,
exclusive of all Exceptions or Extraordinary
Cases whatsoever: 'tis enough in General,
that they do hold such a Doctrine, which you
plainly deny: and which indeed cannot consist
with your System: for if there be a Judiciary
Power in the People, paramount to the Sovereign,
no Personal nor publick Crime of the
Magistrate's ought to escape, for 'tis not only
the Right but the Duty of all Judicatories to
restrain and punish all Vice and Mismanage-
ment whatsoever.

P. Prithce, *Tim.* dost thou find I am alone
in this Business? Canst thou not tell of here
and there one or two, that have been of the
same Opinion?

P. Yes marry can I: but I know not whe-
ther or no you'll be aham'd of your Compa-
ny: but that you have very good Reason to
be aham'd of them, let the World judge when
they are thoroughly acquainted with their Me-
rits and Proceedings: When the Pope first
claim'd a pretended Supremacy in the Church,

Melanch.
apud Luth.
to. 1. p. 463.
Calvin. In-
stitut. l. 4.
c. 2. f. 25.
Diodati on
submit your
selves
Depriv'd
Mimil.
Humb. Sup-
pl. to R.
Jam. 1. 4.
1609. Ad-
dresses to K.
Ja. II. An-
swer to Dr.
Per. Mo-
derate Pref-
er. an.
1660. The
rest of Eng-
land 2 P. 1.
Conferen-
at Ham-
Court.

Chap. VIII. the Papists for the more easy gaining of Power and Authority to the See of Rome, began to extend its Jurisdiction over all the Branches of Civil Dominion, under pretence of securing the Ecclesiastical; and this in Time came to a very great Height: Insomuch, that as they only undertook to declare what was Heresy and that for all the Nations and Churches in the Universe, so they declar'd, that this Crime was an utter Forfeiture of all Civil Right and Power whatsoever; They taught, that Heresy dissolv'd all tyes of Neighbourhood and Civil Commerce: that it made Sacrilege Justifiable, made Contracts and Bargains Void and Null: gave Liberty to Servants to rebel against their Masters, Wives against their Husbands, and Children against their Parents: that it took away all Natural Affection, broke the Bonds of Kindred, Relation, and Nearness of Blood, and deprived Men of all their Rights Civil, and Political; according to this unnatural Doctrine, our good and great Q. Elizabeth was sentenc'd to be depriv'd by the Pope, and this Power of Deposing and Dethroning Princes, is alledg'd to be Catholick; by this the Rebellion of *Oneal* was justify'd, and the Deposition of *Hen. 3.* and the Murder of Heretical Princes in General, of which that French *Henry* was a Fatal Instance, whose Death the Pope himself glories in, and magnifies

* Decret. Papal. apud Grat. Caus. 13 Q. 2. Glossa. * Alan. Card. Toller. Jes. Instruc. Sacer. de Excom. Si man. Episc. Pacen. * Insti. Oath. tit. 46. sec. 74. * Ibid. * Parson. Jes. * Card. A. lan. * apud Grat. Gloss. in decret. l. 5.

ex Decret. Greg. 9. Caus. 23. q. 8. * Card. Alan. Siman. Institut. tit. 46. l. 74. Ludo. d' Oleance. part. 29. * Bulla Pii V. * Coster. Jes. A. pol. pro par. r. Enchir p. 64. Molina Jes. TraBa. 2 de Justis. Disputat. 29. ad sec. p. 149. Bellar. l. 5. de Rom. Pont. c. 6. 7. Sanderus de off. Mon. l. 2 c. 4. * Determi. Calaman. Xistun V. l. de Just. abd. Hen. III. * Reinald. in suo Ros. p. 157. Greg. Valent. T. 3. d. 1. q. 11. Xist Quinti Orat. de obit Hen. III. in Consist.

nifies

nifies as a Pious and Religious Act; After this, when the Jesuits and other Preaching Orders of the *Romish* Church being dispersed up and down in divers Countries, where they led the Mob at Discretion, began to think themselves Independent of the Consistory, they soon dropt that Notion of a Damnatory Sentence, which was always thought Necessary in Order to the depriving and murdering of Kings, and plac'd this Power wholly in the Subjects without any such Sentence from *Rome*; Till at length, when they had sufficiently gain'd upon the Multitude, the most subtle and dexterous Followers of *Loyola* intirely quitted the First Notions of Rebellion, which their Superior Obedience to the See of *Rome* oblig'd them to maintain, and fell into all those Republican Doctrines, that it was lawful to kill a Tyrant by common Consent: that all Kings are made by the People: that they can claim no Right, but what they give them: that they are all the People's Creatures, and that all Majesty is in the Subject; Indeed, the Secular Powers did hereupon take the Alarm, and in diverse Places declar'd very strenuously against these horrid Incroachments of the Papists; In *England* several Parliaments contended heartily for the Prerogative, particularly that at *Lincoln*, Anno 1301, in their Letter to Pope *Boniface*, which was well seconded by another from *Philip K.* of *France* in the same Year; Afterwards in 1612 *Santarellus* was condemn'd by the *Sorbon* for Republican Notions, and by the Bishops

Baines. in

Tho. 2. 2.

q. 12. ar. 2.

Panormi-

tan. c. cum

in homine

&c. Valent.

Jes. Tom. 3.

in Thom.

Disp. 1. q.

12. p. 2.

Creswel.

Jes. in Phi-

lopa. p.

194.

Lib. de

Jus. ab.

Hen. 3. p.

262. and

270. Rei-

nald. in suo

Ros. p. 137.

Valent.

Tom. 3. dis-

put. 1. q. 11.

pun. 2.

Reinald.

de Just.

Auth. p. 8.

Didy. p.

Jes. lib. de Jus. abdi. p. 36.

261. Stapleton's Gloss.

Parson's Dolman.

Jes. lib. de Jus. abdi. p. 36.

Fren. Mer. To. 2. p. 597.

Item. Tom. 11. pa. 105. and 92.

Chap. VIII. and * *Commons* of that Kingdom; In 1633
 * *Schulkerius* his Book against *Widdrington* was
 * Tom. 3. burnt; But in the more bigotted Kingdom
 p. 235. these Doctrines still obtain'd, and were spread
 * Tom. 3. up and down according as there was Occasion
 p. 277. to do Mischief in behalf of the Catholick
 Cause; The *Index Expurgatorius* is full of
 these Principles: and in every Kingdom
 where Popery was establish'd, as they never
 wanted a sett of Cardinals and Prelates to
 preach up Tyranny where they had a Prince
 for their purpose, so where they suspected
 him of lukewarmness to the Cause, they were
 never without a Sett of Preachers to teach Re-
 bellion and unlimited Resistance, from all
 those pretended Principles of Nature and
 Rights of the Mob, in which you are so very
 Copious and Luxuriant.

P. Well, *Tim*! And these are the First
 Companions that thou hast assign'd me; Pri-
 thee who comes next?

T. Never fear, *Phil*! 'Tis not the Devil,
 he went before, and was the First Rebel we
 have upon Record; However, I suppose you
 know your Friends, and will be ready to wel-
 come them upon their very first Appearance;
 Where the Papiſts left off, there the old Fana-
 ticks began: For First, they instigated the
 People against their Governors in Vertue of
 their Natural Rights and Powers, and when
 they had conquer'd and subdu'd their Kings,
 then they pleaded their own Synodical Power
 against that of the People; After the Refor-
 mation was compleated under the Reign of
 Queen *Elizabeth*, the whole System of Level-
 ing was bandy'd up and down in a very strange
 Manner

Manner between *England, Scotland, and Geneva*; *Becanus, Gohartius, Knox, and Beza*, taught this Doctrine frequently: against whom the *English Divines at Frankfort* about the Year 1602, made an Eminent Protestation, Archbishop *Grindal* being one of the Number; *Buchanan, Pareus, Hottomannus*, the Authors of *Brutus, Celta, Philadelphus*, and *Speculum Tyrannidis, Renecherus*, the *Vindicia Contra Tyrannos, Lucius Junius Brutus* ascrib'd to *Beza*, with many others, do all agree with you, that all Power is in the People, deriv'd from them to the Magistrate, who may be depos'd, censur'd, judg'd, executed, and the Government revok'd or alter'd at Pleasure; There was indeed before these, a Sect of Men of the same pernicious Principles, call'd by the General Name of *Lollards*, of whom the Accounts are not so clear as could be wish'd: however 'tis Fact, that some of these did deny the very being of Magistracy, which was a Notion own'd by Sir *John Oldcastle* at his Tryal: and yet these very People are call'd the Poor of *Lyons*, of whom you are pleas'd to say, that they preserv'd Religion in its greatest Purity; Of the same Opinion were those seven and twenty Hereticks that suffer'd in *Q. Elizabeth's Days*: and indeed, 'tis strange to consider, how far these loose Whimfies of Natural Liberty and Equality, to which you set no bounds, transported some Men; They held, that no Oaths could invalidate this Right, that even Immoral Princes were to be depos'd: that no Government was in it self lawful: that there was no such thing as the Power of the Sword: that there was no Dif-

Chap. VIII.

Heylin

Certa. Ep.

Stow. pa

349.

Fox. 2

vol. p. 186.

Stow. 679.

Knox to

Eng. and

Scot. fol.

78.

Quak. De

clar. 1659.

Goodman

p. 144.

Bridge.

Famill.

and And-

bap, 2 Let

to M. O.

Confes.


Helver. 2.

c. 30. King's

Declarat.

Scots Pl.

404.

Chap. VIII.  ference between the Person of the King, and that of the Meanest of his Subjects: and

* King's Declarat. Sc. Plc. 409.

* that Covenants and Combinations were Legal without him; But after all this, when the desir'd End was obtain'd, and the Saints got to be uppermost: then, the Liberties and Natural Rights of the People were entirely forgotten, and all the Power by Divine Right devolv'd to the Synods and Assemblies of the

* Bancroft. p. 169. c. p. 84. of Lear. Disci.

Brethren; Then 'twas given out, ^p that the Multitude must always go with and assist the Brethren: That the Supremacy was in Priests and Elders; And they run the Presbyteral Power as High, as ever the Romanists did the Papal, nay, in the very same Terms

* Melvi. in Spottswood. p. 330.

too: For ^q they taught, that Treason in the Pulpit was only to be try'd before the Presbytery: ^r That the Church *is divided into such*

* Cartwright's Holy Disci. plr.

as are to govern, viz. Pastors, Doctors, and

* Synod. Glasc.

Elders, and such as are to obey, viz. Magistrates and People of all Sorts: ^s That the King

1638. Rochesterford.

has no Right to call or abrogate Assemblies: ^t That

* Register p. 48.

Ministers ought not to obey the Prince, when he prescribes Ceremonies and a Fashion of Apparel:

* Cartwright p. 285.

^u That every Fault that tendeth to the Hurt of one's Neighbour or to the Hindrance of God's

Glory is to be dealt in by the Orders of the Holy Church: to these Knox adds, The bare Suspicion

of Pride, Avarice, &c. and Cartwright in another place, all things that are in ordine ad

spiritualia; Nor do Parliaments escape better than Kings: For 'tis said, ^v That the Assembly

* Synod. Glasc.

King's is Independent of King and Parliament, and

Declar. Sco. Ple. p. 404.

may abrogate their Acts and Statutes: That tho'

there were never so many Acts of Parliament against the Covenant, yet it ought to be maintain'd

against

against them all: ¹ That the Parliament can Chap. VIII.
make no Law at all concerning the Church, but on-
ly ratify what the Church decrees, and after it ¹ Ib. p. 408.
hath ratify'd it, if the Assembly of the Church
shall prohibit it and repeal the Decree of the
Church, all the Subjects are discharg'd from yield-
ing Obedience to that Act of Parliament: and
in ² another Place, the Brethren say, That if ² Suppli. to
the desir'd Reformation be not obtain'd, there shall Par. an Elix.
not be a Man of their Seed that shall prosper, or ²⁴
be a Parliament Man, or bear Rule any more in
England. Thus the Case stood till the Bre-
thren lost the Saddle at the Happy Restorati-
on, and then again they return'd to their old
Natural ³ Principles and Rights of the Peo- ³ Manton's
ple, and to all the Levelling and Deposing Smeetym.
Doctrines, which you only repeat from their Dowgl.
Writings; Indeed when the raving Fit ceases, ⁴ Coron. Serm.
they are extreemly put to't to defend them- Door of
selves against the Joint consent of Scripture, ⁵ Hope Tyto.
Law, Reason, and Antiquity: Mr. Burroughs and Croft.
comes off the best of any I ever met with, ⁶ Colled. Ca-
for he owns the Doctrine of Obedience was in lamy, Bax-
Force during the Reign of Antichrist, but ⁷ ter, Christo.
now, says he, his time is come, and it must be Goodman.
lawful to resist, because we cannot pull him down ⁸ Nov. Ed.
without it; In an Age when every Man thought
himself a Phineas, when extraordinary Com-
missions were Common, and Men liv'd more
by Prophecy than Precept, these Feats were
not so amazing; but to see Milton, Harrington,
Sidney, and other Artists undertake to demon-
strate, what their Forefathers only dream't of,
is strange and unaccountable; no body denies,
but Nature as they manage and make Laws for
her, will do all those Feats, if she might but

Chap. VIII. be hear'd against written Law, and reveal'd Religion; Only Humour, can account for such surprizing Notions; *Ludlow*, who wrote the worst, believ'd 'em the best of any, and was firmest to his Principles: *Milton*, who wrote the Finest, did not scruple to serve the Greatest of Tyrants; I shall only observe upon the Foot of this Parallel, that they who depend intirely upon the Dictates of Nature in their Accounts of Government, do always fix Dominion in the *Male*, and are consequently strenuous Opposers to that softer Empire of *Queens*, which we *Britains* have so many very good Reasons to be in Love with; and here again, the Papists and the old Fanaticks join Hands most religiously, of which 'twere easy to give many Instances. And now *Phil!* If you'll value your self upon your Natural Principles, and upon the Company they have introduc'd you into, do so and welcome: You must give other People leave to stand upon their Reputation, when you find 'em shy of being seen among such Fellows, or of coming into a Family like that of Seignior *Montaign*, where the Son beats the Father from Generation to Generation; At the same Time, every Sect ought to disclaim and publicly disown, whatever any one Person, who professes to be of their Number, shall vent of this sort in Favour of Rebellion, for I am very willing to take these Notions as *Personal*, till I see a Creed, a Confession, or Sett of Articles, that declares in their Favour; I am sure, if to say the People may call their Superiors to an account, punish, and condemn them when they think fit and for what, be not a Rebellious Principle.

• Ludovi.
Vives de
Justi. Fem.
Bodin. Hist.
ca. 6. W.
Th. Desc.
Ital. p. 129.
Against the
Regi. of
Wom. 1
Blas. Prafa.
Martin Mar-
Prel. Ep.
D. Bridge.

Principle, I know not what is; and therefore Chap. VIII.
 you had good Reason to hint, that K. Charles
 I. suffer'd justly, for though he were Innocent
 of the Fact, yet denying to be try'd by the
 Supreme Power is of it self High Treason;
 'Tis no *Salvo* to say, tho' the People have this
 Power, yet there's as yet no Reason for 'um
 to make use of it, for that's usurping their
 Right, and judging without 'um: For there's
 no Difference between saying, *Now this Mo-*
ment Rise and Rebel! And saying, *If you do*
rise this Moment, you do no more than what you
have Authority for by the Laws of Nature:
 since mistakes do not make void a Jurisdic-
 tion.

P. And may not I recriminate upon thee
 for thy *Passive slavish* Doctrines?

T. And so you may upon all Mankind, for
 the whole World holds Passive Obedience, on-
 ly the Dispute is about the Object; I would
 fain know, whether in *Holland* or *Venice* the
 People who are excluded from the *Legislature*
 and *Executive* Power are not oblig'd to be
 Passive under all the Impositions, which the
 State lays upon them, though they should at
 any time think 'em to be unreasonable? The
 whole of every Government is certainly Abso-
 lute, and by your own Argument, that can-
 not be Power but only advice or good Council,
 which the People may chuse whether they will
 follow or no; A very gross mistake in 41 was,
 that there could be a Parliament without a
 King: however, upon that Supposition, they
 claim'd Passive Obedience from the Subject in
 the highest Degree, and that too upon the
 Sanctions of a Divine Right; My Lord
 P 4 Hales

• Marshal's
 Lett. 1643.
 Militia Of-
 ficers Oath.

Chap. VIII. * *Hales* avers, that where King, Lords and Commons shall join to oppress the People,

* Power of they are left without Remedy; † *Grotius* does indeed take away Passive Obedience in those

Parliaments. Cases, where the Supremacy is shar'd among
‡ De Jure Bel. & Pacis more than one, and there it must be regulated

l. 1. ca. 4. according to the Limits and Extent of such a
sec. 12. Partition: § but he exacts it in the severest

* Id. de Jure Summ. Manner from all those, who are excluded from
Po. Ca. 1. and plac'd under the Supremacy; You see,

Phil! That the Doctrine in General, is Good and Necessary: nay, I cannot conceive, how your own System can stand without it; for having resolv'd all Government into the Majority, though you cannot deny but the Minor Part may be in the Right, and may be oppress'd, injur'd, and persecuted by the Major Part: yet you enjoin 'em Obedience, under the Penalty of being cut off from the Society.

P. Thou leav'st us horribly in the Dark as to the Measures and Limitation of Obedience: How shall we get an account of 'em *Tim*? Are they to be had from the Origin and Institution of Government?

T. That will render 'em still more uncertain, because it is not yet agreed upon, what is the Origin of Government, and if it were I do not see that it would be any thing to the present purpose; Whether ^h *Justin* be right, when he pleads for Monarchical Power, or ⁱ *Salust* in his Account of the *Aborigines*, does not signify to determine: *Aristotle* indeed has told us, that the Rise of Government is from Nature, and 'tis probable he means, that the Law of Order, which is binding all over the Creation, requires it: which Principle is very

^b Principio rerum. &c.
ⁱ Genus Huminum agreste &c.

excel-

excellently enlarg'd upon by the Judicious Chap. VIII.
^k Hooker; However this be: though it is contrary to Revelation, to suppose a Number of
 Men created at once, and if they were so created, still they might not be in a State of
 Equality, for this is not the Way of Nature who delights in Variety even among the same
 Species, nor of the God of Nature, who appoints *one Vessel to Honour, and another to dishonour*: Yet supposing such a State, if the Parties concern'd shall agree to devolve the Government upon one Person and his Line irrevocably, and what can prove this, but the present continu'd Settlement, unless the Original Compact could be produc'd? Or suppose that such a Settlement should be procur'd by Conquest and Usurpation, and a Mutual Stipulation subsequent thereupon, which is allow'd to be Tantamount and Equivalent to an Original Compact being founded upon the same Motives: This of it self would give a Divine Right: For God does as much require us to stand to our own Mutual Compacts, as to those he makes with us; On the other hand though it be true, as *Moses* and the oldest Historians inform us, that the first Fathers of Families, call'd by some ^l *Father-Kings*, and ^m *Patriarchs* by others ⁿ *Shepherd-Kings*, did actually exercise such Rights as are allow'd to be Political and Monarchical: Yet since no King does now claim by descent from either of the Patriarchal Branches, or by immediate Divine Commission annext either to the Form, the Person, or the Family, and since neither Parentage nor any Divine Commission will be allow'd in Case of Tyranny, Oppression
 and

^k Ecc. Pol.
 l. i.

^m Manetho
 cit. by Jose.
 con. Appion.

Chap. VIII

and the like, therefore neither can this be a Rule where to state the Measures of Obedience; 'Tis not much more to the Purpose to enquire, how much of the People's consent, and of what Nature that consent is, which is requir'd for the Institution of Government: There is a Consent, which as we are Free Agents, is requir'd of us to the Law of God, and his Worship, to Truth, and Justice, and the like: which indeed is founded in a Power of chusing the other side, but does not give us a Right thereto, or render us excusable for so doing: on the other Hand, there is an *Elective* Consent, which denotes an equal Right of taking or refusing either of the things or Persons propos'd to us, as in the Choice of Magistrates, the Difference of Votes is not allow'd to be Criminal, or the electing of this Man rather than the other; the *First* of these Consents is requir'd by God in Obedience to his Government as well as to that of Man, and is Necessary to the Continuance as well as Rise of the most Absolute Monarchies: so that this can never determine the Question; as to the *second* Sort of Consent, no Body can imagine, why that should not extend to things as well as Men, or why it is not as much in their Power to chuse the *Form* of their Government, as the *Person* they design shall govern them: If you confine it only to the *Person*, then 'tis plain all those Kingdoms that are not Elective, have gone off from their First Foundation, and are in a State of Usurpation and Tyranny: If you extend it to the *Form*, then 'tis as plain it gives as good a Right to Absolute Monarchy as to a Common-Wealth,

Wealth, for Forms of Government, like the Persons of Governors, are none of 'em in themselves Evil and Unlawful. Upon the Whole, *Phil!* You see that the Dispute about Obedience, is never to be ended by Disputes about the Origin of Government: and it is Matter of Entertainment, to see Men engag'd herein push one another into inextricable Blunders and Mistakes, at the same Time resolving never to agree, because if they did, It would be nothing at all to the Purpose; to me, the True Nature of any Government and of the Obedience due to it, is not determinable by any Account of the Rise of that State, but by the Laws subsequent to such a Rise, and which are properly its Establishment; The beginnings of a State are often obscure, which would render Obedience very uncertain, if this were the Way to determine it; I would fain know here in *Great Britain*, what it is that decides all Right and Claim both of Power and Property, but written Law or Laudable Custom, both which are certainly Posterior to the Foundation of our Monarchy? And what other Compact is there between Prince and People? I wish therefore they who are Fond of Antiquity, instead of troubling themselves about the Rise of Government, would wholly divert their Pains to the Origin of Law: For written and establish'd Law is certainly of a much lower date than the Institution of Monarchy; Whether those Laws ascrib'd to *Noah* are Authentick or no I will not enquire: " Many are of Opinion, that *Moses* " Du Plef. was the First Lawgiver, that brought written Mornay. Statutes to a Form and System: and the best and

Chap. VIII. and wisest Nations of Antiquity are suppos'd
 to derive their most valuable Laws from him;

• Pompo. de leg. • the *Roman* Twelve Tables came undoubtedly
 from *Greece*: The Laws of *Greece* from *Solon*
 and *Lycurgus*, who travell'd to *Egypt* for their

• Justin. Knowledge: • *Mercury* afterwards deify'd for
 his Wisdom, was *Solon's* Master, and he by
 Marr. out of Diodor. some reckon'd the same with *Moses*, or at

• Joseph. least his Scholar: And it is very certain, that
 con. Appion. in *Homer's* Time, the Name of Law was not
 so much as known among the *Grecians*; I only
 hint this to show, that as Revelation in all
 Probability gave rise to Law, so there ought
 always to be the most exact Correspondence
 between them that it is possible for Human
 Wisdom to contrive. If any one Form or Fa-
 mily were of Divine Right, perpetual and un-
 alterable, it must follow that excepting that
 one, all the various Forms that ever were and
 now are in the World would be absolutely un-
 lawful: that their Governors had no Right,
 their Subjects no Reason to obey, and their
 Neighbours would be unjust to own that as a
 Legal State, which God had expressly con-
 demn'd; on the other hand, tho' Obedience
 from Subjects to Sovereign be absolutely re-
 quir'd by the Law of God, and this Law ex-
 tends to the whole World, because there is no
 Nation or Country, where there is not a ma-
 nifest Distinction between Subjects and So-
 vereign: Yet since in many Places the So-
 vereignty is lodg'd in several Hands, therefore
 in every Nation, who is concern'd as So-
 vereign or as Subject, must be determin'd by
 the Particular Form then in Force; By this
 Rule, the Subjects of *Holland* are as much ob-
 lig'd

blig'd to obey the Orders of their States, as Chap. VIII.
 the *Muscovites* are the Commands of their
Czar, and the *Venetians* are no more oblig'd to
 obey the Decrees of their *Doge* without the Se-
 nate, than we are oblig'd to obey the Laws of
 our *Parliament* without the *Queen*; The *Persian* Kings were Supreme, yet they took an Oath
 to their Subjects, and were ty'd to the Obser-
 vance of written Laws: The *Demarchi* were
 chosen by the *Athenians*, yet when chosen,
 Absolute and Despotick; *Thesens* was King
 of *Sparta*, and yet Subject to the *Ephori*; a-
 mong the *Romans*, the last Appeal was to the
 People, and yet the *Dictator* was absolute for
 six Months, and even after that, not account-
 able; *Great Britain* is a Monarchy, and yet
 popular Elections to Parliament are allow'd:
Holland is a Republick, and yet popular Ele-
 ctions are forbid; Now what can be the mean-
 ing of all this Variety? Nothing can account for
 it, but the particular Law and Constitution
 of every Country, and according as that is so
 the Measures of Obedience must alter; that
 which is Allegiance in *Great Britain*, would
 be High Treason at *Venice*, and that which we
 call a Free Election, would at *Amsterdam* be a
 Riot and a Conspiracy; nor does Religion make
 any Alteration: for the Law of God suppo-
 ses the Form settled and establish'd, and then
 superadds and joins to it the Sanctions of Di-
 vine Right, and by this Rule, that which is
 Injustice and consequently a Sin in one Coun-
 try, is not so in another, as that which will
 give me a Title to an Estate in one Nation, in
 another would be Intrusion, and will so be ac-
 counted before the Judge of all things. Up-
 on

Dionys.
 Hali. Daniel
 Zenophon.

Chap. VIII. on the Whole, *Phil!* Nothing but the particular Form and National Law can settle the Measures of Obedience, and 'tis in Vain to expect 'um elsewhere.

P. Why then prithee, *Tim!* Do so much as apply thy Notions and mine to that particular Form and Constitution, under which we live.

' Customs certain.
Fine for Orig. Writ.
It. pro Licen. Concord. *Vestigal Judici.*
Relief for Earl, Baron, &c.
Prizage.
Aide pour Marrier la fille. It.
for Sons Knightsh.
Forfeits by Treas.
Stray.
Wrecks.
Treasure-trove. Butlerage.
Wardship, &c.
' L. I. c. 2.
St. Ed.
Laws. Lambert.
' Dyer.
Fleta.
Stamford.
Coke.
Compton.
' *Cust. Nor.*
' *Camb.*

T. That's fairly offer'd *Phil.* and perhaps such an Application may produce some thing that may be very admirable and surprizing. So high as we have any Account of the *British* Nation, it was always a Monarchy, and that Monarchy Hereditary: Indeed the Succession has not been without Interruptions, which are rather a Proof than a Voidance of the common course and usage! Nor is there any the least Pretence for an Elective Form throughout the whole Body of the *English* Laws; the Kings of *England*, besides the Lands of the Crown, had always certain Dues and Duties fix'd and appropriated, as an Inheritance to Monarchy, which of old were many and great but always certain, and of which there are some Remains at this very day; the Style of our Monarchs is very remarkable; The Ecclesiastical one, which you elsewhere contend for, is, *next and immediately under God and his Christ Supreme*, and this heretofore own'd even by 'Popes; He is *sub Deo & Lege*, says *Bracton*: yet so, as that no Law can be made without his Consent, and to this the common 'Lawyers unanimously agree; ' *Ligeancy*, a very high Expression of Duty, is that which we all owe him, and he only is said to have ' *Directum Dominium*; the Power of

making War and Peace, the Coinage, Admiralty, Militia, and the whole executive Branch, are all inherent Rights of the Crown with respect to which it is said, *Potestas Regia non est Inclusa legibus*: for tho' he be bound by the written Law, yet he hath other Rights and Prerogatives over and besides, what the written Law can take notice of; He is the last Resort of Justice, and all Lands are holden of him in ^a *Demesne*; He is Supream over all Persons and Estates of the Realm; There is no Order of his Subjects, that have any Jurisdiction Coævous with him, or underiv'd from him, tho' he be not the sole Legislative Power without Lords and Commons; His Person is Sacred, subject to no Court of Judicature, *Nec ei Necessitatem aliquis Imponat, quod Injuriam suam Corrigat, quia Superiorem non habet nisi Deum*; Again, it is ^b said, that by the Laws of this Realm the King hath an Imperial Crown: What is that? Not to do what he will: but it is, that he shall not be punish'd in his own person, if he doth that which is unlawful: For neither one, nor both Houses of Parliament, nor the People collectively or representatively, have any Coercive Power over the Person of the King: which is confirm'd by a Statute Car. 2. and thereby declar'd agreeable to the common Law, and old Constitution; the King is call'd, *Our natural Liege Lord*: ^c and to seize his Person, or Guards, or Forts, to debase his Coin, or kill his Judges, or invite any foreign Aid, or raise Arms, or levy War against him: Nay even to compass or imagine his Death, and express such an Imagination by any Overt-act, is the highest Crime that the

English

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13. Ed.

3. 6. Rot 2:

^a Sir Ed.

Coke.

Camb. Hist.

p. 31. 25.

H. 8. 21.

24. H. 8.

ca. 12. Or-

dinavi. Par.

Writ. Caput

fin, &c.

Coke.

^a Bracton.^b Narr.

Cook &

Peter's Try.

^c Process H.

Treason.

^d Vi. Stat.

Ed. 3.

Chap. VIII. English Laws know of; the King is *Summus regni Justiciarius & Custos*: he is *Ultimus regni haeres*: He is the *Dernier Resorte*: and may sit in Court; The Law is so jealous of his Prerogative, that all Judgments against his Title, are enter'd *Salvo Jure*; In Ed. 3. time, the Lords and Commons declare, that tho' the King should consent, yet it was not in their power to do any thing that tended to the Dispersion of the King and Crown; the Kings of England never dye, that is not in their Legal Capacity: and tho' the Succession be limitable by the reigning King and his Parliament, yet upon the Demise, there is no *Inter-regnum*, but the next Heir succeeds, and is King to all Intents and Purposes, without Proclamation, Coronation, or any such Formality; Now, if this be the *British Law*, as most certainly it is: What can be more opposite and contradictory to that Law, than to say that the King is Elective: has no Power but what is solely from the People: that he may be at any time call'd to an account in a formal Judicatory, censur'd, condemn'd, and executed? Even the *Rebels of 41* went not thus far, but made Oaths upon Oaths, and Declaration upon Declaration to the contrary: and were forc'd to trump up a private Revelation at last, to discharge 'um from all these Engagements.

P. Prithce, *Tim!* wilt thou not find out something, whereby to ballance this extraordinary Power of Kings.

T. I know very well, *Phil!* that a *British King* is by no means Arbitrary: there are many things, which he cannot do *Salvo Jure & Juramento*; and the first is, he cannot

make Laws of himself, and without his Parliament; Proclamations are indeed properly speaking, *Prerogative Laws*, and oblige the Subject: but they must not contradict the written Statutes of the Realm; now in tracing the Rise of Parliaments, we are oblig'd to go almost as high as there is any account even of Monarchy it self: Two things do very much perplex this Enquiry: One is, the inserting extraordinary and perhaps irregular Precedents in the publick Records, which because they are extraordinary, are more remarkable and more noted than the ordinary and usual Course of the Constitution: and 'tis upon a few Cases like these, that they who plead for the Elective and Republican Form, do so often ground their Mistakes; Another is, that the frequent Mixture of foreign Tongues with the Native *British*, occasion'd great Variety of Terms: and the altering the Forms of enrolment, often puzzles us in the Distinction of the several Judicatories heretofore in use in this Nation; Many are of Opinion that there was no Parliament before King Henry I. but these contend only for a *French* Word, since the Meeting of Lords and Commons was long before *that*; others say, that at first only Barons were call'd, *Coke* and *Rawleigh* and even *Pryn* are in this Judgment; but these seem to mistake the Name of one Convention or Assembly for another; Neither indeed will the Names and Titles, under which the Nobles and Great Men of the Realm met heretofore, decide this Matter; the *Witen-gemot*, the *Micel-gemot*, the *Scire-gemot*, the *Folemot*, the *Generale Placitum*, *Universa-*

Chap. VIII In Synodus, Capitulis, Curia, and in general, the *Conventus*, *Consilium*, &c. are all so promiscuously us'd, that 'tis impossible we should thence learn, which of these Assemblies were for the execution of the Laws, and which for the Legislation; the best way to discover this will be, by examining the Business transacted in such Meetings, or by finding what Orders of the Realm were summon'd to it; the Peers of Britain, which like those *quorum* mention'd by *Zenophon*, derive all their Honours and Baronies originally from the Crown, and of these some are made Hereditary, and others annex'd to Episcopacy and descend only with the Order; That the Peers of this Realm, in Conjunction with the King, were the Supreme Judicatory, is plain from the oldest Accounts; The Dispute between *Exhelred* Bishop of Winton, and *Leontine*, was try'd at *Generale Placitum Nobilis Regnum*. *Esbalke*. that of Queen *Edgine* against *Goda* Bishop of *Durham* and *Winton*. *Coram Rege & Principibus*. the Earl of *Kent* was try'd *Coram Prelatis & Procer.* Evil Ministers were accus'd in King *Johu's* time at *Commune Concil.* *Banet*. Of the like Council mention is made in the 14th Year of the Conqueror; In *Ed.* the 1st's time, *Bogo de Clare* had Judgment, *Coram Rege & Concilio*. So *R. Lyons* An. 5. *Ed.* 3. So *Hastings*, *Grey*, *Eppingham*, the Titles to the Mannors of *Serve* and *St. Laurence*, with the Causes of the Lady *Audley*, and *Jennings*, in the Reigns of *Ed.* the Third, *Harry* the 4th, 5th, and 6th, and many more which the Rolls of Parliament take notice of; and I mention these Cases the rather, because in most or all of 'em, the

* Gloss.
Iamb.
Concil.
Glan.

* 1 Ed. 3.
Rot. 11.

the Commons were concern'd as Impeachers, Appellants, or Accusers, of which there are many other Instances upon Record of very great Antiquity; But now as to the Legislative Power, it was always plac'd in King, Lords, and Commons: For in these Judicial Assemblies there is no mention of the Commonalty, nor is there any Pretence for a Claim of that Nature; But in Assemblies for the making of Laws, they are never omitted: *Deiland, and Gildas, and Geoffrey of Monmouth,* do all assure us, that there were Parliaments even in the time of *Arthur and Merlin Ambrosius*; Those that join'd in the making of King *Alfred's* Laws are said to be, the *Episcopi, Nobiles, and Sapientes*; King *Loth's* Laws are in his own Name, with the *Episcopi, Aldermanni, & Seniores*: King *Edmund's* run thus: *"I Edmund King in a solemn Assembly both of Clergy and Laity, &c."* This Concurrence of the Commons, was kept up, and observ'd even in the *Conqueror's* Reign, and after that it is perfectly out of Dispute; the Style of some of the *Statutes* has been often urg'd to prove, that the King is the sole Legislator, and the Lords and Commons are not to consent in conjunction, but only to advise: Thus it is said, *The King hath made these Laws: Our Lord the King hath ordain'd: Our Lord the King of his special Grace hath granted: The King wills and grants: The King hath sent his Command,* and the like; Others pretend, that the King, with his *Privy Council*, had a Power to make Laws: to which purpose they urge those Expressions: *The King for himself, and by his Council, hath ordain'd: By the King's*

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Lib. 87.

Alban. fol.

20. 8. Hen.

4. Rot. Par.

1. Ed. 3.

Buck's

Speech at a

Confer. an.

82.

LL. Alfred

Lam. Ide.

p. 57. Con-

cil. p. 402.

Johan.

Picus cir.

by Lam.

Arch.

Hoveden.

Floren.

Worcest.

Sim. Du-

nelm.

Stat.

Westm. 81

Stat. de

Tallag.

Stat. Car-

lille.

Stat. Bur-

nel.

Stat.

Escheat.

Chap. VIII. *Command and by his Council agreed: And,*
Stat. *The King, by advice of his Council, ordains:*
York. But in answer to this, as the Stiles of Acts of
 Parliament are so various, that no certain
 Conclusion can be drawn from thence: so we
 must take notice, that *Concilium*, or Council,
 does in the old Law very often stand for Parli-
 ament: thus 'tis said, *These are the Acts of*
Edw. I. made at his first Parliament, by his
Council: where, *Council*, certainly includes
 Lords and Commons, for so it follows in the
 Preamble; and besides this as the King has
 certainly a Right of moving Laws in Parlia-
 ment, which was usual heretofore: so the
 Parliament did very often take the Royal
 Charters, Grants, Decrees in Council, and
 other Laws of the Prerogative, and pass 'em
 into publick Statutes, which was often done
 in the very Words as they were drawn up by
 the King: and therefore their Stile is no proof
 against the Assent of Lords and Commons;
 thus for instance, the Statute of Ireland, is
 only a Letter of the King's to Girard Son to
 one of the Justicers of Ireland: but that their
 Assent was absolutely necessary, is abundantly
 confirm'd by the Tenor of the oldest Laws;
 King *John's* call it; their Exhortation and
 Doctrine: by their Assent, says the *Stat. of*
Westm. by their Agreement, says the *Stat.*
of Bigamie: by their Assent says the *Statute*
of York: so say, the Statutes of *Ed. 3.* and
 after that, it is the known and ordinary Stile
 of all the ensuing Laws; Nor must it be for-
 gotten, that *Dei et sua Consensu*, is the Power
 ascrib'd to the Lords and Commons, in the
 very Writt of Summons, according to the
 most

most ancient and authentick Copies. As all Chap. VIII.
Bills in Parliament are in the Nature of Peti-
tions, before they have the Royal Assent, and
were antiently so worded, 'tis no less true
that the King has an undoubted Right, to
accept or refuse them: Otherwise, our Mo-
narchs would be no better than State-Echoes,
and the denying the Power of the Negative
Voice, has certainly been of fatal Consequence
to this Kingdom. There is no doubt but
those Rights of the Commons, claimed by
Sir Tho. Moor, in the 15 of Hen. VIII. did
not Commence in that very Arbitrary Reign,
but were of much older date: and 'tis certain,
that the Power of impeaching great Mini-
sters, of consenting to the Succession, of
granting or denying Subsidies, of refusing
Grants and the like, were of long standing,
and very great Antiquity. And here, we
must never forget that memorable and necessa-
ry Right of the Commons, to whom alone it
belongs, to tax the People, to begin all such
Grants, and without whose Consent, no such
Demand can be attempted, nor any Exaction
made upon the Subject; this is so ancient and
uncontested, that there are very few Excepti-
ons to it upon record, even from the Conquest
down to the Fatal Demand of Ship-money.
The Hereditary Revenues of the Crown were
always fix'd and certain, and every Addition
to them was accounted in the Nature of an
Illegal Impos, unless 'twere confirm'd by
Parliament; the First Exaction we read of,
was in the 16. of Ed. I. which was an Addi-
tional Duty upon Wine; the next was upon
Wooll, in the 21st Year, but both these were

Chap. VIII complain'd of and redress'd, and a Statute
 made to prevent the same for the future, ^{Ann. 22}
^{Ed. 1 an.} nothen there was, in the vi. Ed. III. but this
^{27. 1. 1. 1. 2} too was upon Application of the Commons
^{Ed. 1. 2. 2} remedy'd, and a second in his 24th Year,
^{Rot. Par.} but this was likewise redress'd in the same
^{an. ut sup.} Manner: Queen Mary attempted something
^{Nº. 11.} of the same Nature by an Imposition first on
^{22 Ed. 3.} Cloth, which was afterwards forbidden
^{Rot. Nº. 16.} and adjudg'd against the Queen, and after that
^{Rot. Par.} by another on French Commodities, which
^{ad an. ut sup.} was annull'd in the First of Queen Elizabeth.
^{Nº. 11.} So that from the Conquest down to Queen
^{Orig. Scac.} Elizabeth, we have but six Attempts of this
^{25 Ed. 3.} Nature, made by Three several Monarchs and
^{Rot. Mem.} all those retract'd, and found to be Illegal;
^{Dyan. 1} And as from *Adm'd Chart. Downward*, there
^{Eli. fol. 164.} were always laws to guard this necessary
^{Rot. Mem.} Branch of the People's Liberty from all Im-
^{Term. 1. 1.} posts, Malcontents, and Arbitrary Exactions
^{Caf. 63} whatsoever, so the Commons were always jea-
^{Stat. de} lous of every the least Shadow of a Demand
^{Tal. no. Con.} that tended the way; The Increase of Cu-
^{Ed. 1. 7.} stoms by an Explanation of the *Lex Mercator.*
^{14 Ed. 3.} ^{Ann. 21. 21.} was complain'd of and al-
^{c. 21. Stat.} ter'd as the Commons require; The Imposi-
^{R. 3. against} tion by way of Grant to Merchants, in the
^{Benevol.} 17th of Ed. III. had the same fate; So
^{Ed. 2.} far'd it with those that were by way of Di-
^{Rot. Memb.} pension with Penal Laws: So with those
^{23.} that were by way of Ordinance of the King
^{Rot. Nº.} and his Lords: Nay even a Demand of Im-
^{27. 36 Ed.} posts for Ibernies granted, was not thought
^{3. c. 11.} valid, till confirm'd by Parliament; Thus,
^{12 Ed. 3.} ^{Nº. 22. Rot.} ^{Ale.} ^{13 Ed.} ^{3. Rot. Nº. 5.} ^{7 Ed. 2.} ^{Ro 9. Orig.} ^{de Scac.} ^{20 Ed. 3. Nº. 18.}
 could, what are the true Bounds of the English
 Mo-

Monarchy and Liberties of the People.

P. Thou hast made a very pretty Collection, of Matters and Discoveries not at all to the purpose: For suppose now I should grant all that thou hast said, what, I prithee, is it to the Question in Dispute now before us?

T. Ever I tell you that, Phil. Give me leave by way of Complacency to my self, as a Subject of *Great Britain*, to contemplate a little the Beauty, Wisdom, Happiness, and Strength of our most excellent Constitution.

P. Prithee take thy fill of Contemplations if thou pleasest.

T. Whatever Rights and Privileges were in former Times granted to the Subject, did at the same time strengthen and confirm the Rights and Powers of Monarchy: for as *King Charles the First* observ'd, they are the mutual support of one another; The Power of the old *English* Barons, the Nature of their Tenures with regard to those under them, and their own Hereditary Right with respect to the Crown, was that, which in former times gave a greater Check to the Subject, than even the Royal Prerogative; And the great Number of these Barons, which sometimes exceeded 8000, their Command over their Tenants, their Strength and Force, a 1000 *Horse* being the common Attendance of one of them, was a very great Awe even upon Monarchy it self: So that, the raising the Liberties of the Commons, brought this excess of Power more to a Ballance, and consequently gave the Crown room to exert it self more vigorously; As this Consideration ought extreamly to endear us to Monarchy, so even at this day the Peers and

Chap. VIII. Commons are both under the strictest ties of Self-Interest to maintain the Prerogative, the *one* as the Fountain of their Honours, the *other* as the Support of their Liberties: For it preserves the Peers from the Confusions of Anarchy, and the Commons from the Divisions of Aristocracy; Our Monarchy is not Absolute, and if it were, it would not be so perfect as it is; It is ty'd to its own Laws, and cannot contradict it self; and so is even the Monarchy of God Almighty, in deputation to whom it is constituted; It is Eternal and unalterable, because it cannot consent to its own Dissolution; It has all the Advantages of Absolute Monarchy, and none of the Inconveniences; The enlarging of Territories is not, nor ever was, for the Interest of the *British* Crown: and against any Invasion or sudden Emergence, the Prerogative alone is sufficient; Absolute Monarchs are very often weaken'd, and sometimes totally ruin'd by engaging in foreign Wars, upon private Humour or Malice, or with a Design to get more, and to oppress their Neighbours, whereby they draw both God and Man into the Confederacy against 'um: but in *Free* Monarchies as these things are always manag'd Deliberately, and undertaken upon the most just and lawful Grounds; so the Interest of the People being the same with that of the Prince, when he comes to demand Supplies in behalf of the Publick, their Grants are in these Cases most commonly much greater, than what an Absolute Monarch dares venture to exact from his Subjects; Besides this, all *Absolute* Monarchs always manage by a *Ministry*; which sometimes by private Avarice

rice and Ambition, renders even a good King odious: Gives occasion for Rebellions, and raises Parties in a Court, that always awe the Throne, and sometimes o'erturn it; But in Free Monarchies, as the King has the best of Ministries and a Parliament, who even in point of Interest are oblig'd to let their King know both his own Grievances, and the Peoples, which in effect are all one: so they free him intirely from the Influences either of a single great Man, or a Faction among the Nobility: Triennial Parliaments being, as a Wise Statesman has observ'd, *as Circles, that will keep a Legion of such Devils from doing any mischief*; Add to this, that Absolute Monarchy has always a Mixture of *Stourgy*, without which it cannot well subsist, and how fatal a Faction, or even a sudden Humour in an Army, has been to an Absolute Monarch, let the many Revolutions of the Ottoman Porte witness: Whilst the Forces of a Free Monarch, having one and the same Cause with their Leader, will not lag in pursuing it, because they have a proportionable Advantage by the Victory, and none at all by Mutiny or Rebellion; Absolute Monarchs depend very much upon the habitual Vassalage, and Subjection of their People: but as this is pretty well worn off in Polite Countries: so it cannot continue long easy and contented, where Commerce and Interourse with free Nations are frequent; a sudden Murmur, a Dispute about Succession, the Offers of a great Neighbour, or a publick Accident and Casualty, will overturn all in a Moment; But if Free Monarchies are destroy'd (for even States are Mortal as well as Men)

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Men) there must be a general Deficiency, and an Alliance and League made even against *Self-preservation*; This sort of Government must dye Piece-meal and by Parts: and then there is time and leisure for one Member to assist another, and for the strong to supply the weak, that the Infection may spread no farther, and what is out of order, be restor'd to its right place and enabled to do its Office; It is in *Politicks*, as in *Mechanicks*, the more Movements a *Machine* has, the more regular and lasting; *Absolute Power* may indeed make a glaring Figure, with an excess of Wealth, drain'd from the Purses and Labours of a wretched People: and tis Odds if a few Favourite, Courtiers or Vices, do not come in for an equal share with their Monarch: but as *Free Monarchs* are not inferior to the most despotick Kings, in all the Gracious and useful Splendor of a Court, and throng'd by as great Numbers of *Dutiful Subjects*, as the others are by their *Slaves* and *Vassals*: so on the other hand, the Security of Property being the best Encouragement of Trade and Industry, and consequently the surest way to make a Nation Rich and Flourishing, such a King, in the common Exigencies of himself and his People, cannot want an ample Supply upon Demand, whilst the *Absolute Monarch* is less Weak and Defenseless, his extravagant Exactions having consum'd that, which should now relieve his Necessities; In short, the only best Security of *Absolute Power*, is the bare Name of that Power, without the Exercise: the most politick Kings of this sort, would not be flatter'd to be *tyrants*. They always thought

thought it unsafe, as well as unjust : and then, whatever may be pretended *de jure*, such a Monarch as this, is *de facto* limited : so that upon the whole, if governing by Law be the wisest and safest way, even where the Monarchy is *Absolute*, the limiting of Kings to govern by Law, is certainly for the Advantage of Monarchy, for this only limits and preserves it from a Power to destroy it self. If we compare our Monarchy with the *Second* sort of Government, *Aristocracy* : we shall find it still more Glorious and Excellent : The great Advantage of *Aristocrasies*, is a *Multitude of Counsellors* : but a Free Parliament answers *ther*, to all Intents and Purposes ; There is a tacit Acknowledgment of the Benefits of Monarchy, even in the *Aristocratical* Form, for that is generally manag'd by One or Two Heads, which for want of Right often breeds fatal Disturbances, of which there is frequently a very dreadful Account in the *Histories* of Tacitus, the *Roman* State : and then the Ambition of one Man oftentimes alters the Government : or his Avarice disposes of it to the next potent Purchaser : *Greece* abounds with Examples of this Nature : whereas in *Free* Monarchies, there is a common Head to all Orders and Estates, appointed to prevent these Calamities, and who can neither sell nor betray his Country, upon any Prospect of his own private Advantage ; A Country under a *Monarch*, seems to be like a Child under a Parent, but that under *Aristocracy*, is like an Orphan under Trustees, and every body sees the difference between those Two sorts of Dominion ; *Unity* is essential to the very being, as well as to

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to the Preservation of Government; and this is upheld and maintain'd much better in Monarchy, than in an Aristocracy; There is more of Liberty indeed pretended in this latter Form, but it is only a Pretence: For it can never be true Liberty, to serve more Masters than one: and these always take care to guard themselves, with Mercenary Troops, and to keep both the Legislative and Executive Power intirely in their own Hands; What is a single Free Monarch to the *Decemviri* of Rome, or the *Thirty Tyrants* of Athens? these have more Lusts, Passions, and Designs to serve, than any sole Monarch can pretend to; Besides, abus'd Power is much worse in *Aristocracies*, than in *Monarchies*: For Tyrants dye but *Aristocracies* are immortal, and their Oppressions end only in Desolation. The ² *wisest of Kings* calls it a National Judgment, to *Have many Princes*: and 'tis for this Reason that a Woe is pronounc'd against that Country, *whose King is a Child*, because commonly, in that Case, the Government becomes *de Facto*, *Aristocratical*; popular Elections, Tryals by Juries, and many other Rights of the *British Subject*, are wholly unknown in *Aristocratical States*; and in all those, the Distance between the People and Senate is much greater, than in *Free Monarchies*, where there are intermediary Orders that cement the Two Extrems, and preserve an amicable Communication between them. *Lastly*, if we compare our Monarchy with the *Republican* Form, it has all the suppos'd Blessings of such a State, without any of its Inconveniencies; there never was yet such a thing in Nature, as a *pure* and exact *Republick*,

² Pro. 28.

2.

amicable

c. 11.

lick, at least it never lasted any considerable time; Those we read of in Greece, were all of them founded by great Men, who exercis'd a Monarchical Jurisdiction over them: and having made a compleat Set of Laws, the Legislature ceas'd at their Deaths, but the executive Pow'r was always in a few Hands, who manag'd the Votes of the People as they pleas'd; But in all these, there was such continual Contention about the Ballance between one another, that they soon became an easy Prey to Philip of Macedon, who added many of 'em to the Grecian Monarchy; Indeed Equality is the genuine Parent of Strife, and Subordination the only way to prevent it, for without this, Nature it self would go to ruin; Fortune is a much better Governess than the Multitude, for she is upon an equal Lay of Right and Wrong, and is withal, subject to the Superior Guidance of Providence: but the Multitude are more prone to Evil than Good, and, as Free Agents, have the sole Command of either; For these Reasons, Anarchy is by many esteem'd to be no Government at all: nor is it one, properly speaking: For if we compare Accounts and Descriptions it appears to be exactly the same with the State of Nature, which, all who are concern'd in't, own to be a State void of all Political Right whatever; But supposing some Mixture of the Aristocratical Form: yet tis notorious, that it cannot well subsist without a Stocracy too, and is sometimes the very same thing with it: And there needs no Colours of Art, to descibe the Miseries of such a Government as this; It is the Misfor-

tune

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Phaeas
Chalcedon.
Hippodamas Miles.
Minos Cret.
Lycurgus
Lacedem.
Solon A-then.
Aristot. Polit.

Thebans.
Arcadi.
Locria.
Boeot.

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tune of Republicks, that the few Wise and
 Good under such a Form, are the greatest
 Slaves and Sufferers: for there is a particu-
 lar sort of Superiority in Wisdom and
 Goodness, which is thought inconsistent with
 the very Nature and Constitution of a Repub-
 lick, of which you give us a very memorable
 Instance in the *Norcians*; Besides this, an
 Excess of Wealth in such a State, is equally
 dreaded with an Excess of Power and Wis-
 dom: And therefore those Governments are
 always weak and poor, and generally of a
 narrow Extent, and depend in a great mea-
 sure upon the favourable Alliances of their
 more powerful Neighbours; Now all these
 Inconveniencies are avoided in a *Free Monar-
 chy*: and a *Free Monarchy* is farther off from
 Absolute Power, than a Republick: for the
 nearer you come to *Pure Anarchy*, still the
 nearer you come to *Despotic Monarchy*; The
 Advantages of Liberty in this State are only
Nominal: For here Liberty is in Excess, and
 that is equally dangerous with an Excess of
 Power: A Liberty to do any thing, includes
 in it a Liberty to do our selves harm: And
 who shall prevent that, where Ignorance,
 which is the Majority, has a Right to deter-
 mine? the surest way is to trust our Liberties
 in the Hands of those few Wise and Good,
 who have the very same Liberties with us to
 take care of, and over whom there is yet a
 Superior Pow'r plac'd to take care of the Pre-
 servation of us all: And this is the Method of
Free Monarchies: whereas in those States,
 which in fact call themselves *Republicks*, the
 Government lies in a narrow Circle, and the
 People

People are wholly excluded both from the *Chap. VIII*
Legislature and Execution. After all, *Phil!*
It is no wonder our Nation makes such a Fi-
gure abroad, since it is so well contriv'd and
manag'd at Home: and it is not a bare Specu-
lative Complement, fit only to be inserted in
an *Address*, or to grace the Speech of a *Re-*
recorder: but 'tis a Truth confirm'd by Expe-
rience, and founded upon the strictest and
clearest Enquiries, *that we are the best Consti-*
tution under Heaven. It is observable in ge-
neral, that Monarchy is only good and bad by
exercise, but all other sorts of Government,
however manag'd, are always attended with
inseparable Inconveniencies: And Monarchy
is no where under a better Exercise, than in
Great Britain; How admirable an Union is
here between Liberty and Power? The inhe-
rent Hereditary Rights of the Crown, are
that; which make it a Corporation, a *Third*
Estate, and place our Monarchy above the
Magni Nominis Umbra, above a Chair-man, a
Speaker, a Prolocutor, which was never
reckon'd a distinct Order from that with
which it sits in Conjunction; These Rights
make and constitute the Crown, and there-
fore are not alienable, even by the King him-
self: and these Rights are the Support of our
Liberties, for these enable him to protect us,
by arming him with the Vindictive Sword,
for the Punishment of all those that annoy
us; He is to govern by Law: but then, that
Law is both the best of his own and his Na-
tion's Wisdom put together, and it is not for
his Interest to govern otherwise, than wisely;
He is to govern by Parliaments, because they

Chap. VIII. are the best and most disinterested Counsellors: and no King ever did or can govern without Counsellors: But he may dissolve those Parliaments when he pleases, because that's a necessary Branch of the Subordination of the Three Estates, and Equality always makes Confusion; We on the other hand are a Free People, because we are oblig'd by no Laws, but what we consent to: and our Kings are free because they too must consent to 'em: And we are bound by Laws, because it is not true Liberty to be without Law; We enjoy Property, because we are not depriv'd of it without our own consent: and we must part with some of it to preserve the Whole, if we have any regard for Self-interest: Our Monarchy is free, because the King has no occasion for our Properties, but when his own are in danger: and he is then sure of Supplies, because his own cannot be in danger, but ours must be so too: In short, he cannot give up his Power, and we cannot give up our Liberties: He cannot take away our Liberties, and we cannot take away his Power; To take away his Power, is the same thing as to give up own Liberties, for that Power was made to protect them: and to take away our Liberties, is the same thing as to give up his own Power: For these were made to support it; and all these Reciprocal Influences serve to make the Interest of King and People one and the same, and when they are one and the same, the wisest Methods for the Security of either, will always be acceptable to both. And now, *Phil*, having done with my Contemplations, I am at leisure to examine your

System,

System; and to see how it squares with that very fine Scheme now before us.

P. Do so, *Tim.*

T. And in the first place, I crave leave to say something to those Tantivy and High-flying Principles, which you have advanc'd against the Government.

P. Nay, *Tim*! do but prove me a *Tantivy Man*; and thou art fit to undertake any thing.

T. I can't say, *Phil*! that you hold long in that Humour, it is not above *Thirty Pages* standing, and only lasted whilst you had occasion for't, according to the noble Doctrine, of *altering with Circumstances*: For in the *Second Chapter*, having occasion for a sufficient Force to pull down the Church, you presently transfer all that Power, which belong'd to the People in the *Introduction*, into the Hands of the Civil Magistrate, in order to do this extraordinary Feat for you: which being happily accomplish'd immediately at the Beginning of the next, you call *Proffo* for an *Act of Resumption*: and all the said Power reverts again into the Hands of the People; now if this same Magistrate has but the same Consideration for Circumstances that you pretend to, having got so much Power in the *Second Chapter*, I would not, if I were in his Coat, part with it for all the rest of the *Book* that came after; you tell him *there*, that his Power is independent and indivisible: which if so, he may not only refuse to call *Parliaments* in order to raise Taxes and Subsidies, but in truth he is oblig'd not to do it, for hereby it is declar'd to be contrary to the Constitution;

R

and

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and for his farther Satisfaction herein, you tell him, that the Legislative and Executive Power always go together, being necessarily annex'd to his indivisible Supremacy; As this effectually excludes *Lords and Commons*, as being Intruders upon the very Foundations of Government: so it cuts off at the very same stroke all *Juries*, both petty and grand: destroys all *Charters*, even the great one of all: and let any one, after this, judge, whether you can deny your self to be a *Tantivy Man*, and the worst of the sort, without assuming their Assurance as well as their Principles?

P. Now have I no Manner of Occasion to contradict thee, *Tim*! For I know in the very next Words, thou dost design to say, thou wilt prove me a *Low-churchman*.

T. So far from that, *Phil*! That the very next Principles I intend to charge upon you, are so very bad, that I believe they will never be own'd by any Party at all; Now these Principles are taken out of that Romantick account which you have given us of the State of Nature: which by some are call'd in Gross the *Law of Nature*, and by others the *Rights of Nature*; upon these, you declare, that all Government is founded: that it is the Business of every Government to support and maintain them, and that whenever they are usurp'd upon, the People may assume them at Pleasure; so that these Laws of Nature being of such great Importance, the Reader cannot but be very inquisitive, to know what they are; Before I satisfy him herein, I desire he would take notice, that there is a great deal of Difference between a *Law of Nature*, and a

Right of Nature: The Laws of Nature ei- Chap. VIII.
 ther command or forbid us, but the Rights of
 Nature, so far as they extend, leave us whol-
 ly to our Liberty: the Rights of Nature give
 us a Power to do or not do, but a Law is an
 Obligation that restrains our Choice, and de-
 termines our Actions, and says expressly, We
 must do thus and not otherwise: The Law of
 Nature is the same every where, Universal ^{Cicero l.}
 and Everlasting, from the Tyes of which, ^{3. de. repub.}
 neither King, nor Senate, nor People, can set
 us free; Some of the Branches of this Law
 are, not to kill: not to lye: not to do wrong:
 not to steal: to worship a supreme Being, and
 the Like; Government is by no means found-
 ed upon this Law, for it prescribes no Form,
 and obliges where there is no written Law; It
 is the same under all Governments, neither is
 there any State that establishes the Contrary:
 but only differs in the several Measures and
 Particulars of each General Branch; When
 the *Aborigines* are describ'd, as ^{Salust} *Legibus Solu-*
ti, 'tis meant with regard to these special Po-
 litical Laws, and not with regard to the Ge-
 neral Law, for in all States, where'er Human
 Nature is, that binds and is in Force; It is
 plain then, that this Law has nothing to do in
 the Dispute about the Government: for whe-
 ther there be a Government, or be not, the
 Law of Nature remaineth the same; The
 whole *Juss* of the Controversy lies then upon
 the *Rights* of Nature: now what they are,
 those who hold Correspondence with this
 State, can best inform us; and First, by the
Rights of Nature, they tell us, that all ^{Justin. l.}
 things are in Common: that this State is a ^{2. Sec. 3.}

Chap. VIII. State of War: that all Power is in the Majority: that all things are to be determin'd by their Votes: that every Man may worship God in the Way he thinks best: and that all establishments by Law, are Illegal: Now here we may perceive at first Glance that our Constitution is, in an admirable Manner, founded upon these Rights: that it does not contradict 'em at all, and consequently we have no Reason to alter and resume: For *First*, it is an Establishment, founded upon a State of Non-establishment: *Secondly*, it prescribes a Form and Forms of Divine Worship, agreeable to a State, where there was no Form of Worship at all: *Thirdly*, it settles property, because the Rights of Nature leave all things in Common! *Lastly*, it is a State of Peace, founded upon a State of War; What Agreement is here, a Real Harmony indeed, if Discord can be suppos'd to contribute towards it. If all be from the People, what will become of the Inherent and Independent Rights of the Crown? The People make but *one Estate*, and if there can be no Estate, but what they make, what will become of the other two? What will become of our Laws, if all Government be by and from the People: For the People only do not make our Laws? Why is *Peerage* Independent of the Commons, if no Order ought to be Independent of the People? I would fain know, *Phil!* Why those condescending Gentlemen, who immediately before an Election, are so very obliging as to kiss our Wives, to increase our Families, and to buy off our Stocks, can afterwards presume to look so Grummi upon us, if we can revoke our Deputation,

tation, Judge, Censure, and Condemn them, Adjourn, Prorogue, and Dissolve them at Pleasure? Is there not a Mob under the *Freeholders*, and that of both Sexes? Is there not a good Number of *Copyholders*, which in some Cases are better Lords of the Soil than the *Free*? Are not these *Pollable* by the Rights of Nature? And yet must their consent be taken tacitly, though they bawl never so loud? Will not the Rights of Nature take away *Prescriptions* and seize upon *Charters*, with as much Justice and Equity? Can the Majority of *Stockbridge*, compare with the Majority of *Hampshire*? And yet are not their Representatives equal in Number and Power? Nay, are not the Representatives of the *Minor* Part of the Nation, superior to the *Major* Part, that is, the *Burroughs* to the *Cities* and *Counties*? Will Nature allow of this, and is it so in your Kingdom of *Utopia*? In short, *Phil!* Your Way of seizing Charters, attainting Lords, and dissolving Parliaments, is the very worst Sort of *Jacobitism* I ever yet met with: and should we allow our Laws to be Nonsense, our Forefathers to be Fools, and our selves all in the Wrong, as I believe we are in all things exactly the Contrary, yet your Way of setting us Right, is much worse, and your Reformation the High Road to utter Destruction.

P. I perceive, *Tim!* Thou art resolv'd to make my Meaning for me, and to make thy self merry with it, when thou hast done.

T. I would, make you talk like a Philosopher, *Phil!* That is, talk so, that a Man may draw Consequences from what you say;

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There is that other Notion of yours, the *Elective Form*, did you lay it down as a Foundation, that was never to have any Superstructure? Was it only design'd as a Speculative Notion? Or may we not be allow'd the Benefit of Use and Application? Now if the Elective Form be according to the Law of Nature, then all those Nations, and our own among the Rest, that have quitted that Form, or rather indeed never had it, are all establish'd upon Usurpation and Wrong in Opposition to the first Principles of Nature and Government; But allowing, that the first Monarch was elected, yet it will not follow, but that the same People who elected him, might also consent to make his Crown *Successive*: If they did, then is the elective Form ceas'd: If they did not, and could not, it must be because that Sort of Government is in it self Illegal, and then the Reflection, if brought home to us, is much more intolerable, to me Reason and Necessity (if they may be heard in a State of Nature) seem to give it, that if this Form were the first, yet it did not and could not continue: For it is attended with many and insupportable inconveniencies, even where it is not in the Perfection of a State of Nature: and of this *Europe* at present affords us, a very dismal Instance; Besides, it is morally impossible, to have a pure, free National Election, according to the Primitive Form: and in an Original Right, tacit consent is not sufficient; Nay, that which in these Cases is call'd Tacit Consent, is in Fact and according to Custom, no more than this: The major Party of those near the Person of the Candidate, chuse him, and

and when he has the Power, the remote People, who are over the Majority, must not resist, and so they consent *Tacitly*, that is, in plain *English*, they cannot help themselves; Nor is it in the Power of any Country to preserve Freedom of Choice, which is essential to the very being of an Election: A standing Army, destroys it at once, and yet without such a Force, they are liable to be awld by their powerful Neighbours, and perhaps by the Candidates themselves; Yet Weak and Imperfect as this Form is, some Men will presume to compare it with our own excellent Constitution; but certainly, without any pretence of Affection for the Liberty of the Subject, for the Plea in behalf of the elective Form, is generally this, that it makes way for Merit, for Heroes and brave Men, among which we are always apt to reckon the *Fighting Hero* first; and yet none is so likely as he, to alter so disadvantageous a Constitution; Others I have heard argue very strenuously, that even our own Government is of this Sort, an elective Crown; and they ransack Records and Histories to prove it, at least that this was our *Original Settlement*; But these Men do not consider the strange Blunders and Mistakes they expose themselves to, by such an Enquiry: I have seen some Collections of this Sort, where by several Precedents, the Election was wholly manag'd by the Bishops and Barons: in others, by the Clergy only; and many of them mention the People of *London*, as the main Managers, which in Fact, I believe, was often the Case; However, all this is pleading for Tyranny and Usurpation, for these Pre-

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cedents were made by such Monsters of Ambition, who, when they had subdu'd a Legal Right, and could awe the People, having no Title of their own, would then demand the Consent of their Followers, and call that an Election; Sir Thomas More gives us a very good account of this Way of arriving at a Throne; in the Case of Richard III. he, having imprison'd the Right Heir, and got the Power into his own Hands, first pleaded the Title of Succession, by fixing Bastardy upon the two Young Princes, and appealing for Decision to the People in the Person of an impudent Preacher, one Shann, who was to open the Matter in a Sermon at Paul's: but that failing, he trumps up the Right of Election, and employs his Creature Buckingham (afterwards well rewarded for it) to meet the Citizens at Guildhall, in Order to a Choice: But the Protector Richard was the only Candidate: and him the Duke proposes in a long Harangue to the Citizens: after which, instead of Acclamations, a profound Silence follow'd: Whereupon the Duke repeats what he had said before, and still there was nothing but Silence: then the Recorder, by his Command, spoke to the same purpose, but the People were dumb notwithstanding: and then, Tacit consent being not thought sufficient, a Page or two of the Protectors are employ'd to toss up their Caps, and cry K. Richard, the Company admiring at their impudence! Whereupon the Duke with great Joy declares, *Sithence we perceive, it is all your whole Minds, to have this Nobleman for your King, Therefore* — as it follows in the History, *He and the Lord*

Mayor

Mayor wait upon the Protector, and humbly chap. viii.
 intreat him to accept of the Crown; And all
 this the Witty Historian calls *Political Stage-
 play*: Nor is it easy to find an *English* Prece-
 dent in behalf of this Form, that has not a
 very great Share in that Part of it, which is;
Farce; Certain it is, that to trumpet up this
 Form as a Natural and Unalterable Right, is
 in direct Opposition to the *British* Establish-
 ment which is an *Hereditary* Monarchy: Then
 are all our Laws illegal, that say, the King has
 Heirs as well as Successors; There is not in
 the Law the least Mention of the Right of E-
 lection to the Crown, in whom this Right is;
 or how, and in what Manner to be exercis'd;
 if this be the only true Form, then are all our
 Oaths to the Succession, *ipso facto*, void, and
 to swear to the Princess *Sophia* and the Heirs
 of her Body, a Breach of the Original Con-
 stitution; some would Labour to reconcile this,
 by making Succession the same, in effect,
 with Election; and they call it, a *continued
 Election by tacit Consent*; but that Government
 is certainly weak, that stands founded upon a
Pun or Quibble: For they may as well call Ab-
 solute Monarchy, a *continued Election* too by *Ta-
 cit Consent*; only, if they please to let our
 Government always (continue) as they call it,
 that's as much as can be desir'd; nor are our
 Monarchs the only Sufferers by this Scheme:
 The *second* Order of Estates falls to the
 Ground, as inconsistent with this Original;
 and even the electing the *Third*, is manag'd
 by you in your Natural State, in quite a diffe-
 rent Manner from us, and Mismanagement in
 Fundamentals is the nearest Step to a total
 Downfal:

Chap. VIII. Downfall. So that as *Britains*, we must say,
 Phil! That your Natural *Wisdom* is exactly
 the same with Natural *Folly*; if we may
 judge of it by its Fruits and Consequences.
 Another very pretty Device of yours in Op-
 position to the just Rights of Monarchy, is
 the Notion of a *Compact*; which, if taken in
 the usual Latitude, will do strange Feats in any
 Government whatsoever; the Divine Law, as
 well as the Human, is often describ'd in the
 Nature of a Covenant or Compact. Wherein,
 there are two Parties, and mutual Agreements
 and Stipulations between both: but this cer-
 tainly is no Objection to the uncontrollable
 Dominion of the Almighty, since the acknow-
 ledging this and submitting to it, is one ex-
 press Article and Part of that very Compact;
 Marriage is also a Covenant, founded, say the
Civilians, on the Consent of two Parties: and
 yet this is no Argument against the Authority
 of the Husband, for this very Covenant it self
 gives him a Right to his Authority; I suppo-
 sing then that our Government be in the Na-
 ture of a Covenant or Compact, yet you see,
 it is not contrary to the Nature of a Covenant,
 to give the Supremacy to one of the Parties,
 and that with us it is so given to the King, is
 as clear and express, as the Law can make it;
 there can be no other National Covenant but
 the Law: For Tacit Covenants depend wholly
 upon the Supposition of either side, which the
 opposite Side may annul whenever they
 please: and then, the Question will be, whe-
 ther the Law, which is our Covenant and Com-
 pact, does establish those Rights of Judging,
 Censuring, and Deposing, which you plead
 for;

for; they therefore, who contend in General chap. VIII.
for a Compact, must, after the Manner of
right Wranglers, stick to the General To-
pick: for if they apply it particularly to the
British Form, that is clearly against them; sup-
pose then we leave it to these Men, to settle it
amongst themselves, what sort of Compact
this shall be: If it be a Compact of *equality*,
then their meaning is, that half the Power is
in the Prince, and half in the People, and
that one has no more Power to judge than the
other, which is contrary to their own Prin-
ciple, and then Civil War and Confusion must
follow upon the Breach of the Compact, un-
less there be a *third* Power to keep the Peace,
and judge between both Parties, which cannot
be where the Government is compact in it
self, without the Intervention of any Foreign
Potentate; If, on the other Hand, it be a Co-
venant of *Subordination*, then the Question
will be, which is the Upper Order, *Prince* or
People, which still must be determined by
the Laws, which are the particulars of that
Covenant: and then if we have recourse to
our own Law, that gives it for the Prince:
and therefore, arguing from the general Na-
ture of a Compact or Covenant, in behalf of
the Peoples Superiority, is nothing at all to
the purpose; If our Government be such a
Sort of Compact as you would make it, I
would fain know, how there comes to be a
third Estate of *Peers*, in our Kingdom, dis-
tinct from Prince and People, and not founded
upon the Agreement of the People? so that
your Notion entirely levels that Order; and
should you step in here with your other Na-
tural

Chap. VIII. tural Right of a Majority, with respect to the *three* Estates, as a Natural Right, you know, is to prevail every where; then, unless we had Laws much better than your Natural Rights, it would be in the Power of the *two* first Estates to ruin the *third*, and in that, all our Liberties and Properties, whenever they pleas'd, and that Legally and Justly; In the electing the *third* Estate, pray what Compact is there, between the Representen and the Represented? Does not the Law, without your general Notion of Covenanting, determine the Rights of both? Is this a Compact of Equality? If so, may we not recal our Representatives at leisure, or determine of our selves in Opposition to their Proceedings? Is it a Compact of Superiority? If so, must not the Law determine which of the two is Superior? And then what signifies it, to use an Argument, that proves as much for one Side, as for t'other; give me leave therefore, *Phil!* To say, that this Notion is impertinent: If you will insist on its being to the purpose, you see what evil purposes those are, to which it serves: and I think in these Cases, it is much more for your Credit to be voted *Useless*, than *Dangerous*. Not much unlike to this, is your other Notion of a *Trust*; now take this in its full Latitude, as 'tis usually put, and 'twill be found as insignificant a Whim as the Former: For the general Argument, that Government is a *Trust*, does by no means infer or prove that this *Trust* is *revocable* or *irrevocable*, since there are *Trusts* of both Sorts: and therefore barely to say 'tis a *Trust*, will by no means do, unless it be farther prov'd, that this *Trust*

Trust is revocable; suppose the Original Chap. VIII.
 Trust were founded on Paternal Right, we can
 no more revoke it, than we can dissolve Re-
 lation; suppose it were by mutual Consent, for
Better for Worse, it will be difficult to get a Di-
 vorce, where there's no superior Court to resort
 to — *Urbi Pater test, Urbique Maritus* —
 If we have made a sorry Bargain, yet we
 must stand to't. When the *Israelites* declar'd
 for a King, the *Prophet* assures them, that he
 should prove a Tyrant, but since they per-
 sisted, he anointed *Saul*, and after that, they
 were to rest quiet and contented under his
 oppressive Reign: They were pass'd the
 power of redress, could no more return to
 the *Theocracy*, and were to submit to the
Lord's Anointed; Now, what was in fact their
 Case, may be suppos'd to be ours, even grant-
 ing the elective System, as well as we can sup-
 pose any other Model, where History is silent
 and there is no subsequent Law that declares the
 contrary: and then, if we have made an ill
 Choice, ours must be the Blame, for to add
 Knavery to Folly, is a double Aggravation of
 Guilt; It is a Maxim of the Civil Law, *Prae-*
tor Jus reddit, etiam cum Iniquè Discernit: and
 in this Sense, *Summum Jus* is very often *Sum-*
ma Injuria; Even you are of Opinion, that a
 Sentence by a competent Authority is valid tho'
 not right: Now if Power be revocable, can
 there be any better Reason for't, than Wrong
 and Injustice? If it be said, that Reason is to
 determine when this Power is to be revok'd,
 will not the same Reason be of equal force,
 when it assures us, that Liberty depends upon
 Power, as it most certainly does, and that to
 revoke

Chap. VIII. revoke the one, consequently destroys the
 other? To suppose a mutual Trust, involves
 us in the same Difficulties: If the Prince trusts
 his People with their Liberties, and the Peo-
 ple trust their Prince with their Power, then
 the People have no more Right to Judge,
 when the Prince breaks his Trust, than the
 Prince has to Judge when the People break
 theirs, and where will this End but in a Civil
 War. *Arms without factura Nocentem est;*
 In all Trusts there is a *Principium Inchoans*.
 Now Monarchy with us is a State Prior to any
 Anarchical Form whatever, of which there is
 not the least Pretence in our Histories: And if
 Monarchy be the *Principium Inchoans*, then,
 we can no more suppose, that the Crown
 would trust the People with the Power of Re-
 vocation, than some Men would suppose the
 People, where they make the Trust, did con-
 sent to fix it irrevocably; On the other hand,
 if the People were the *Principium Inchoans*,
 and did actually make this Trust revocable,
 then they reserv'd a Power of judging when it
 was proper for them to revoke it: which, as
 it makes the Royal Commission *Durante bene
 Placito*, and consequently much worse than
 those Powers that are even subordinate to the
 Royal, so it makes Monarchy in effect a State
 of the most perfect Servitude imaginable; Be-
 sides, if the Power of judging be lodg'd in
 the People, then 'tis plain only the Executive
 Power is committed to the Prince, and then
 the Supremacy is notoriously curtail'd here
 with us, and the Crowns sharing in the Legi-
 slature absolutely unlawful; Nay, 'tis a Maxim
 of your own, that the Executive Power natu-
 rally

ally inferrs, and carries along with it a Part Chap. VIII.
of the Legislative; When a Prince is consti-
tuted, is he not constituted a Judge? and over
whom is he constituted a Judge, but over the
People? Now that the People constitute a
Judge over themselves, and yet reserve the
Power of Judging to themselves, they, who
affirm it, must try if they can to make it ac-
countable and consistent: Were this true,
Judge not that ye be not judged, would be the
best Plea that ever was urg'd in any of the
Courts of Westminster. The only true, legal
and undoubted Trust, is that, which the Law
of a Nation appoints and declares: By this
the Prince is intrusted with his Power, and
the People with their Liberties: The British
Law fixes some inherent Hereditary Rights in
the Crown: Even the King cannot alienate
these, much less the People: for 'tis the Law
that gives them, not the People, because the
People alone cannot make the Law: so that
the Power of Revocation is, in this Case,
wholly taken away; Can the People revoke
Peerage, which is the second Estate, of which
they are by no means the Fountain and Ori-
ginal, and which they are subject to both in the
Executive Branch and the Legislative? Nay,
we cannot revoke even the Power of Repre-
sentation, which we part with in Elections:
It must continue its usual and settled Periods,
unless a Power Superior to us declares the
contrary; Thus you see, Phil! whither your
Natural Notions of Law and Government
would lead us: the Reports and Statute-Book,
Queen, Lords, and Commons, with whatever
our Ancestors thought dear and valuable, all
vanish.

chap. VIII vanish in a Trice at their Appearance; Well do the Learned divide Nature into a *Good* and a *Bad*, for 'tis certainly from the last of the Two, that you had all your Rights and Notions of Government.

P. Prithce, Tim! ha' done with 'em: I love to have no Rights and Notions, but what I may explain and comment upon my self.

T. Then you should have kept 'em to your self, *Phil!* you will explain and comment upon others, and therefore must not think to have your own Notions exempted. Now the next pretty Fancy you so often please your self with, is that the Magistrate has no Power to do Evil, and that no Authority can be pleaded for the same: and this is often urg'd in Bar to the Divine Right, when in truth if there were a Divine Right, yet these Maxims would be good notwithstanding; Others labour hard to prove and demonstrate them, and would fain persuade some of their Neighbours to hold them, tho' no Body was ever so Mad as to humour them herein; The State of the Case is briefly this: No Body in the World has a Right to do Evil: This is agreed on all hands, and that 'tis the Design of Government to prevent Evil: When therefore, it is urg'd, that if the Supream Power be unaccountable, he has a Right to do Evil, the Answer is, No: For tho' he be unaccountable to Men, yet God will judge him for *that* Evil: which he could not do, if the Magistrate could plead a Right to't; If it be said, tho' he has no Right to do Evil, yet he may do it if he be unaccountable: Is it not equally true of the People,

People, if they should call him to an Account? For to whom then must they be accountable? so that a Right to do Evil is as good against one Side of the Argument, as t'other, and consequently nothing at all to the purpose; The Truth is, tho' neither Prince nor People have a Right to do Evil, yet some body must have it in their Power to do Evil, and be uncontrollable for the same, and that by the very Nature of a *Last Resort*: This Case of a State wherein there is no Power to do Evil, is much like the Case of Infallibility, or a State in which there is no Power or Possibility of being deceived: We say, tho' neither of these States can be attain'd, yet we say that a King with his best Council comes the nearest to the one, as the Church in her Councils does to the other, and consequently that 'tis the best way to submit to both; They, who flatter Kings and Princes, and entice 'em to make use of their Power to the utmost, are the greatest Enemies to Government: as suppose, they should be told, that God does not expect so much from them as from Subjects, and that he will be satisfy'd with a more scanty portion of Repentance: Whereas, in truth, Greatness of Station adds to every Obligation, because of the force of Example, which rises in proportion to the Degrees of outward Splendor and Notoriety; It is impossible for the best Laws utterly to prevent the doing of Evil; There are many Sins which a private Man may commit, for which he is not punishable by Law, and it would be inconsistent with the Ends of Government, to make a Law to punish him; and if the Power of doing Evil cannot wholly be

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taken

Chap. VIII. taken away from the meanest Subject, much less can it be taken away from the Sovereign; that Constitution is the best, and such is the *British*, which so encompasses the Throne with the wisest Councils, and the highest Temptations to Justice and Vertue, whereby tho' the Possibility of doing Evil be not suppress'd, yet the Desire of doing it shall cease; and whatever comes from thence, shall have the highest Human probability imaginable of being Just and Good. Another Extraordinary Invention for the weakning of Monarchical Government is, that Jesuitical Abstraction, whereby the Authority of Princes is made separable from their Persons, which did the Rebels of *Forty-one* so much service, when they could boldly affirm, that 'twas not against the King, but against *Charles Stuart* that they took up Arms; The Answer of the Rustick in a different Case, would not have been improper here: Had *Charles Stuart* been slain at the Battle of *Edge-hill*, what would have become of the King? The Law knows of no such Distinctions, and secures the Person of the King even from the Thoughts and Imaginations of the Heart; Most Languages, and our own among the rest, apply the Abstract of the Office or Power to the Person of him who bears it, thereby plainly intimating, that they are inseparable; where such Evasions prevail, no Order of Men are safe, nor is there any Security of our Lives, Liberties, or Fortunes; To abstract the mortal part of Man from his immortal part, is good by this Logic, though 'tis in Law as much Murder, as to abstract Kingly Power from the King, is Treason.

'Fidenarum Gabi-
orumq;—
Potestas.
Juv. Po-
desta Ital.
Justitia
pro Per-
sona. Glan-
vil. l. 2. c.
6. Hoveden.
Your
Grace,
Your Maje-
sty. Brit.
ΟυσΙΑΣ pro
Gerent.
Offic. ΑΥΤΩ
ΕΑΣΙΛΕΙΑ.
pro Imper.

Treason; Indeed, by this Rule, every Man is made actually King; for if he may oppose the King, without opposing his Authority, it must be by assuming that Authority to himself, and in that Case, the Monarch and Subject change Stations. Much like this was that other Notion of forming a Parliament without a King, which was a rebellious Tenet, taken up to behead the King before his Time, and to do that to the People which was afterwards done to the Monarch; A River without a Fountain, or Light without Communication, are as agreeable Notions: and the Parliament that assumes this Power, is *ipso Facto*, perpetual; The negative Voice is that which makes and constitutes the *Third* Estate, and if either of the Estates may be thus excluded, this puts it as much into the Power of the King to exclude the Lords, or Commons, as into the Power of both or either of the Houses to exclude him: Nay, much more so, for he is Supreme, and they are Subordinate; When the Bonds of Unity are once broken, there is no End of Exclusions, first the *Bishops*, then the *King*, then the *Lords*, then the *Malignant Party* are turn'd out of Doors, till the Number *without*, becomes too strong for that *within*, and they break in and Dismiss the Residue, with Shame and Contempt: the *Coronation Oath*, by which the King swears to maintain the Laws of the Realm, the Liberties of the People, and Rights of the Church, has been urg'd by many as an Argument to prove him dependant and accountable; But as by the *British* Laws, the Heir is King to all Intents and Purposes, both before, and without this

Chap. VIII.

Ceremony, so though it be a very useful and necessary Obligation, laid upon the Conscience of a Monarch, of which being often remind- ed, he may be deterr'd by his own Thoughts from doing Evil, yet even without this Oath, no body denies, but the King is under the severest Penalty, that of Eternal Damnation, bound to execute Law and administer true Judgment and Justice; That Equals may swear unto Equals is allow'd by all Casuists, and this was the Way in ancient Leagues and Treaties, where no Guarranty was admitted: and that for Breach of such Oaths neither Party can punish, without the Intervention of a common Umpire, is also granted; Now granting an Equality, where is the Umpire between Prince or People? That a Prince Guilty of the Breach of his Oath is perjur'd who denies? but in what Court shall he be try'd, is the Question? Is it not sufficient to say that, he shall be surely damn'd for't here- after? It is urg'd by some, that this Oath is a Trifle, if the Prince be not accountable to those to whom it is made, and if they have not a Power to prove him guilty when he fails, and to punish him for it: But this makes it trifling for Superiors to swear to those under them, which was always allow'd, and Superiors can only be accountable to those that are superior to them; God, whose Word is truth, and who cannot lye, did yet swear to his Servants of old, to *Abraham*, *Moses*, and *David*: and surely we will not therefore pre- sume to say, that this Oath was a Trifle, or that the Almighty was therefore accountable to his Creatures. That Maxim, that the

King

King is *Major Singulis, & Minor Universis*, Chap. VIII. unless duly and carefully apply'd, is of very dangerous Consequence; That he is less than the Whole in Strength and Power, taken in a natural Sense, is most true: and so is he less than single Persons too in that Sense: but in a legal Sense he is greater, for the Universal Body of the People are his Force and Strength, and under his Leading and Command; That his Interest is less than that of the Whole, and the Good of the Whole preferable to his, is an inconsistent Case, for his Interest as King, and the Interest of the Whole, as Subjects, is exactly one and the same; The putting the King in opposition to his whole People, is a Nicety, that ought in a very clear manner to be accounted for and explain'd: If by the *Universi* here mention'd, are meant the whole People, not one single individual Person excepted: such an Opposition as that, I dare averr, never did, nor will, nor can happen: If this be not meant, it must come to a Majority: and then to Poll a Kingdom in opposition to the Monarch, is such a Project as the World were never yet Fools enough to see admitted, and whenever it is, will do mischief enough, never to be admitted again; The whole Body of the People in this Maxim, must be taken either as *Collected*, or as *Represented*: if the former, then, as such, they are wholly excluded from all share in the Government, are only Subjects, and are to obey and submit: if the latter, then this Maxim places the House of Commons above the Throne, in direct Breach of our Constitution; Apply it to the *Three Estates*, and any Two of them,

Chap. VIII. by this Rule, may exclude the *Third*, which is equally dangerous: Take it with the regard to the *Three* Estates in opposition to the People, and they have a Right to pull down which of the *Three* they please, or all of 'em as well as either, which is still worst of all: Take it in its most simple and natural sense, and it plainly Invalidates those usual Forms of the Royal Proclamations, Injunctions, &c.—*To all and every—To all and singular, &c.—* Take it, lastly, in a Mathematical Sense, and it turns upon this Supposition, *That the Whole may subsist and be, without its principal Part,* which is Nonsense with a Demonstration. The Notion of a *Check* or *Balance*, is of use in the Art of Government, if rightly and aptly apply'd, but in the loose way as tis generally manag'd, nothing more hurtful and pernicious; The very Nature of a Balance pre-supposes a *First Mover*: this with us is the Supreme Power, and the Check that Influences this Power, arises from a sense of its own Preservation, as included in the Preservation of the Whole: Now the Supreme Power cannot be better preserv'd than by maintaining a Free People, because a Free People are the best Support of such a Power: On the other hand, the Check that Influences the Peoples Freedom to preserve the Supreme Power, arises from the very same Consideration of Self-preservation, because without such a Supreme Power, the Freedom of the People cannot be protected: But to suppose, that the Prince must Judge the People, and the People must Judge the Prince, and that this is the only political Check, founds that Check upon mutual Opposition, and not upon mutual

tual Interest, which is a sure way of Ruining a State; This is to make Government not a *Balance*, but a *Circle*, where the Leaders and Followers mingle and change at every turn, which must infallibly end in Disorder and Confusion. There is yet a much worse Invention than this; which is *Co-ordination*, as ply'd to the Estates of *Great Britain*; That this is in fact contrary to our Constitution, the Law will readily determine: that Power which has all the Executive Branch, and the first share in the Legislative, must be Superior to that which has only a second or third share in the Legislative: and that Power which calls, prorogues, and Dissolves, must be greater than that which is call'd prorogu'd and dissolv'd; Let *Co-ordination* in the Latitude commonly us'd, take place in our Government, and it gives either of the Houses a Power to call and dissolve themselves, it makes the *Commons* a Court of Judicature as well as the *Lords*, and enables the *Lords* and the *Queen* too to raise Money as well as the *Commons*: and though it does bring about all these extraordinary Feats, yet it will not answer the Ends for which it is alledg'd by some: for *Co-ordinata in se jus non habent*; and therefore the Doctrine of Judging and Censuring is wholly taken away; But now apply this to some very particular Cases, and it is true as well as useful: For Instance, with regard to the making of Laws, the Three Estates are most certainly *Co-ordinata*: Either of the Three may Dissent, and if either does Dissent, the Whole is null and void: Take it as 'tis commonly taught, and it makes the Three

Estates Three as distinct Governments, as Poland, Sweden, and Denmark; Besides this, *Co-ordinata, se invicem Supplent*; by which Rule, if either of the Co-ordinates judges that the other has fail'd in its Duty and Office, it may take its room and supply that Deficiency, a Maxim, which would ruin us at once, if ever it should be admitted in the British Constitution. Among many other Projects found out for the Destruction of our State, none is more frequent, and few more dangerous, than the popular Complaint of *Mismanagement*; To enquire into Grievances, to present them to the State, to accuse those that are justly suspected, and to have all publick Offences examin'd, prov'd and redress'd, in a solemn legal way, is not only good and justifiable, but the best and noblest Service, that can be done to Prince and People; But to take up Scandal upon Trust, to accuse by common Report, to defame the Ministry with general Complaints of Male-administration, to threaten Mischiefs to the Publick, and to prophesy our Destruction from secret Hints and imaginary Causes: To write Half-blank Libels, to Judge without Authority, Condemn without Proof, and Execute without Mercy, is a Method as common, as it is mischievous and abominable; Nothing is more pernicious to the Rights of the People, than this: for a perpetual Outcry, that the Wolf is coming, is a sure way to make us distrustful and negligent, when he does come in reality; Mismanagement is in all States the surest and most usual Cause of Rebellion and Disorder, now a false Account of things, an imaginary Mis-

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management, is, in effect, the same as a real one, and what a horrid Aggravation must this add to all the Confusion that attends a Deceit in these Cases? Besides that, this Method of Mis-representing is not only the way to ruin even a good Government, but it teaches even a bad one the Art of false colouring, in order to conceal the worst and most substantial Deformities; Nothing can be too severe against these Methods of Mis-representation in a Kingdom of Parties, because the constant Opposition that is kept up between the contending Sides, gives frequent occasion for such unreasonable Complaints; The Men of natural Rights do indeed plead strongly for private Judgment in Civil Matters as well as Ecclesiastical: 'Tis in vain for us to constitute a Representative Body, on purpose to present our Grievances to the Throne, whenever we labour under any, so long as notwithstanding this, we still retain the Power of Complaining, which as manag'd by the Multitude will sometimes break out whether there be cause or no. Nay, by this Rule we may complain even against those that are to complain for us and in our Names: Which Right if it be exercis'd in the utmost Latitude, so far as the Naturalists extend it; To serve the Publick in the Legislative or Executive Branch, must be a Condition of the greatest Slavery, Misery, and Danger imaginable, and they who are engaged in it, instead of our Honour and Veneration, do rather deserve our Compassion and Pity; The Mischief is, that every Party will rather be govern'd by its own Leaders, than by the publick Leaders, that ought to govern all Parties:

and

and that which is out of Favour, will encourage the Alarm of Mis-management against that which is uppermost: Nothing but the Power of Party can account for so unreasonable a Practice, and it must be said in Favour of both Sides, that neither can be secure, if Calumny be always encourag'd against that which is in power: this is Obstinacy with a Vengeance, where even the Throne shall not be allow'd to decide the Quarrel; No one ought to be offended at so reasonable a procedure when the Power of a Government exerts it self in its own defence, and that Defence is certainly necessary; without which even the best Government cannot be secure. The common popular Pretence of *Publick Good*, is often turn'd against the Interest of the State, and manag'd as scurvily as any of the Principles I have already mention'd; That every private Person is concern'd in the publick Good, is most certain: and that our Laws do make the Resort to Justice free and open, whereby every Man is in a Capacity of being some way instrumental towards the furthering the publick Good, is also plain and evident: and I have already observ'd, that the People of *England* are admitted to a nearer Intercourse in all Affairs relating to the publick Good, than the People of other Countries, whose Pretences rise never so high in behalf of the Republick Form; But to suppose every private Person has an equal Right with the best, to judge and determine of the Publick Good, is a Notion that will bring all Sorts of Government to the same Anarchical Level; the Publick Good is the Concern of all, but it is not for the Publick

lick Good, that all should be equally Judges of it; there would be no difference between private Good and publick, if every private Person were to determine it; what are Governors but publick Persons? And what are publick Persons, but such with whom the publick Good is intrusted? Let every one mind his own Business, is as good a Maxim in Government, as in private Conversation: only the Guilt and Dangers of Political Impertinence are much greater and more Heinous. For the Pretence of publick Good has been the Occasion of all the Tumult, Rebellions, and Disorders that ever happen'd to a State, and it would be impossible to prevent these, if publick Judges were not appointed to decide between the Pretence and the Reality. The Doctrine of *Self-preservation*, in its self Good and Necessary, is perverted to the same evil Intents and Purposes; For if it be admitted in that Latitude of Nature, in which its frequently deliver'd, it empowers even a single Person to depose and murder a Monarch, as well as a whole Multitude; take it in a Legal Sense, and then private Self-preservation can never be pleaded in Opposition to the Preservation of the Publick, and what is publick Self-preservation but the Preservation of those Laws, of the Publick, which perfectly exclude all your Rights of Nature? The Preservation of Monarchy and the three Estates is truly the publick Preservation, for these are and make and constitute the Publick: This Unity is the very Self and Soul of the Publick, and every thing consequently must be destroy'd, which comes in Competition with the

Chap. VIII. the safety of this; no Body ever deny'd the Right of Self-preservation to every thing, and Creature, and State, and Society in the World; the Question does not turn upon this: but what is that, by which a State only can preserve it self? Is it not that, by which the Unity and Essence of that State is kept up and subsists? And are not then the Notions of Judging, Censuring, Deposing, and altering, intirely inconsistent with the Self-preservation of such a Government? The Objections of *Slavery* and *Vassallage*, and the mighty Cry of *Liberty* and *Property*, are another Argument against Monarchy: Now as they who plead for Liberty and Property in its just bounds, are by no means Enemies to Monarchy: so neither are they who plead for the just Rights of Monarchy, Enemies to Liberty and Property; they are both of 'em consistent, and indeed so consistent, that they mutually support one another: Where there is no Liberty, Power cannot be safe: and where there is no Power, Liberty cannot be protected; Absolute Monarchy may be and subsist without Slavery, because the best Way to preserve that Right, is not to exercise it, and then the People are *de facto* Free: But as all Anarchical States naturally tend to Tyranny, consequently all Tendencies to Anarchy, do as Naturally tend to Slavery too; the truest and best Liberty is not to have any Laws or Taxations without our Consent, and this we enjoy, consistently with the Rights of Monarchy, and without those Natural Rights which you contend for: and therefore, they are of no Use in the Cause of Liberty; a Liberty

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Chap. VIII

Liberty to judge and condemn the Supreme Power, is a Liberty to ruin and undoe our selves: it takes away and destroys the last Resort, leaves us to the Mercy of the Strongest, and the Hazards of War and Victory, for without a last Resort Liberty can have no redress in Cases of Oppression and Wrong; and since it is impossible for Human Laws to fix such a State, in which no Body shall have power to oppress, that State is most Perfect, which makes it most unlikely and improbable to have any Oppression among its Subjects, and such is ours which excludes those Natural Rights you talk off: For there can be no greater Security to a People than this, that the Monarch cannot infringe their Liberties without infringing his own Power at the same Time: and such is our Security, but if the Subject may judge and depose the Sovereign, when that's done how shall Equals be secur'd against one another? And if there be a Power to call these to an account, and these again must be judg'd by others, and so on *in infinitum*, there can be no Security at all, because there will be no end of appealing, where there is no final Determination; if the People may rise at any Time and depose and execute their Prince, what Power after that, shall protect their Liberties? In this Case Liberty must protect Liberty, and they who can take away the highest Power, must have the same or rather a higher Power themselves, and then Power and Liberty being together in the same Hands, after the Civil Inequality is dissolv'd, the Natural Inequality must take place, and we shall be Slaves in Course to the most Crafty

Chap. VIII. Crafty or most Victorious. If Government was created purely to prevent our being Slaves, and to secure our Liberties, and if Government consists in having others to judge for us, then to judge for our selves is a slavish State, because 'tis inconsistent with the very Being of Government; suppose we had it in our Power, according to your Rights, to recal our Representatives, and lay aside the three Estates: What shall then either determine or protect our Liberties? Not the Civil Power, for that's dissolv'd; not the Law, for that's annull'd: Not the Law of God, for that supposes a constant Government: Nor yet the Law of Nature, for that gives a Liberty to do any thing, and a Liberty to do any thing includes in it a Liberty to do Mischief. The great and dangerous Extream, which you pretend to avoid, is Absolute Power, or a Power to command every thing: and I would fain know whether a Liberty to do every thing be not equivalent to that? And its being in many Hands makes it yet much more formidable; Now, if the first Naturally infers a State of Slavery, the latter must do so too. Upon the Whole, *Phil!* Let me make a few general Observations, and I have done with this Topick; Systems in Government ought always to be practical, for Theory in Politicks often fails, when it comes to the Experiment: Now, whatever designs you have in your Head, to level the subordinate Parts of a State into a Circle and everlasting Round, yet in Spite of you Government will endeavour at a Point, and by a Natural Course tend to Unity: The most regular Way therefore is,

to let this Point rise upwards and not down-
wards: The whole Body of Subjects are the
Base and Bottom, upon this Bottom the *State*
column rises to a Monarchical Summit, and this
Course is orderly: But take away this Point,
yet still in Time the Fabrick will wear to ano-
ther, and that more sharp and pungent; Hi-
story tells us, when the *Negative* Voice was
gone, the *Lords* soon follow'd, then the Ma-
jority of the *Commons*, then the whole House,
and then started out a single Tyrant, most i-
ronically call'd a *Protector*; Unity, you see,
will force its Way up or down, the first is the
most regular Form, but if we will turn the
Basis uppermost, 'tis impossible the Pillar
should stand steady, and every blast that
comes will endanger a Downfal; When *Tibe-
rius Gracchus* had perswaded the People, in
Vertue of their Original Right, to depose his
fellow Tribune, *Marcus Octavius*, *Nassica* soon
perswaded the People by the very same Argu-
ments, to depose *Tiberius*, and murder him
into the Bargain, and to silence all complaints
the Answer was—*Quis tulit Gracchos de
seditione quærentes?* Another thing I would ob-
serve is, that in stretching the Peoples Liber-
ties beyond their due bounds, Absolute Pow-
er gains Considerably, and the Subject is really
the greatest Sufferer: For all those wholesome
Topicks and Maxims, upon which the Peo-
ples Liberties are really founded, being mis-
apply'd, falsly explain'd, and extended too far,
it afterwards becomes suspicious to use 'em at
all, tho' in their best Meaning, because of
that Odium and Mark of Infamy they lye un-
der, by having been misconstru'd and apply'd
wrong-

Plutar. in
Vit. Gracch.

Chap. VIII. wrongfully. But that which is most observable, is, that all those Republican Notions which the avow'd and open Maintainers of that Scheme do hold and assert, are transcrib'd and made use of in their fullest Sense and Latitude, and sometimes copy'd Word for Word by the Assertors of Liberty, even under a Monarchical Form, and who at the same Time declare, they write for the Constitution: Now if this be not overturning the State, then nothing is, or there is no such thing as a Republican Principle; Lastly, I should think it highly convenient for those, who are resolv'd to manage all Political Disputes by Reflection, to alter and exchange their Titles, let them be call'd Rebels, who are for Absolute Power, for that's but one remove from Anarchy: and let them be call'd Slaves, who are for Anarchy, for that's but one remove from Absolute Power.

P. After this long Harangue, *Tim!* Do so much as apply my Principles and thine to the *Revolution*, and see which of the two will best Account for that Business.

T. Indeed, *Phil!* I have so great an Opinion of that glorious Transaction, to which we owe all our present Happiness, and of our mighty Deliverer to whom we owe the very Being of our Religion, as well as our Lives and Liberties, that however averse I am to meddle in the Arcana of State, farther than becomes the meanest Subject, yet I cannot without Indignation suffer so memorable an *Era* wholly to lye under the Scandal of being only justifiable by such Principles as yours, and therefore I will say so much for it as I am

warrant-

warranted to say, by the Reasons and Arguments of the excellent Directions of that famous Juncture.

P. Prither, Tim. Let's hear some of it.

T. The great Fault and Mistake of the opposite Contenders on this Head is, that as one excludes the Divine Right, the other excludes the Human, whereas in Truth they ought always to go together. The Divine Right does not prescribe the Form, but presupposes that fixt by the Law, and then superadds to it the Sanctions of Religion: so that as the Human Right cannot be without the Divine, so neither can the Divine Right be without the Human, for *that* only says that some shall bear rule and others obey, without appointing either Form or Persons; now as you who utterly deny the Divine Right, do thereby destroy Government, so where a Monarch totally subverts the Law, he destroys his own Human Right, which is founded thereon, and then the Divine Right, which is inseparable from the Human, follows of Course; now this Subversion must be Total and Universal, Open and Notorious, and so there needs no Power to judge or debate of its Truth and Reality, for tho' by the Law, and of the Law the King is the sole Judge, yet when he shall overturn this very Law, the Fact will be clear and publick as any Transaction in History can be, and the Evidence and Judgment of common Sense is sufficient; This Case is extremely different from the Case of a Nation, where the Law is miserably abus'd and perverted, there the Judgments of Heaven are upon that Land, and they must not cut God's Rod in Pieces: *there is*

Chap. VIII.

room and opportunity to make Use of the Spiritual Militia, and to exercise Passive Obedience, of which there were many and great Instances in that dismal Reign, long before it came to a fatal Necessity; That the Case I have put was in Fact true at that time, is more easy to prove, than pleasant to remember, and therefore the King subverting his own Right was his own Act and Deed, which his People labour'd to prevent, and is therefore in our Records very justly call'd, an *Abdication*; Now the Law, and consequently the King's Right, being thus subverted, it was the Duty of all Estates of the Realm to restore that Law, and to use all necessary means thereto, which in Consequence to the Abdication, was done by transferring the Royal Rights thus abdicated, and reestablishing the old Constitution; And all this was manag'd upon Reasons truly Monarchical: For the King had by subverting the Law subverted Monarchy, which the Nation restor'd, had the King prevail'd he must have been a Slave himself as well as his People, for he was of that bigotted and Jesuited Sort of Popery, which owns the Papal Supremacy: and this Consideration may serve to endear the Protestant Succession to us, by which, as well as by the Revolution, the publick Oaths are confirm'd, and the Rights of Monarchy justly establish'd; Had these been invaded by the Revolution, then King *William* would not have been King in as ample a Manner as his Predecessor, which as to all the Rights of the Crown he certainly was, those deficiencies in the Law which gave King *James* a Power to destroy himself being heal'd

up and supply'd for the Security both of Chap. VIII.
 Prince and People; If there were any failure
 in any Part or Circumstance of this great
 Transaction, which the Laws, at that time
 not so perfect, did not nor could not prevent;
 that was firmly settled by other Laws in Con-
 sequence and Confirmation of this blessed
 Turn, which is a Method agreeable to the
 Conduct of our greatest Ancestors, and abso-
 lutely necessary to the very Nature and Being
 of Government: To account for the Revolu-
 tion only by the Doctrine of Self-preservation
 at large, without specifying the Method of
 Self-preservation, by transferring of Allegi-
 ance, seems to leave every Man to his Schemes
 and Methods of altering and new modelling:
 and the Unity of Government being dissolv'd,
 which must be where Allegiance is not conti-
 nu'd, the Society may divide it self, and
 where there are Parties, of which one is al-
 ways apt to think it self in extream Danger,
 this Notion seems to encourage an Heptarchy,
 or a Splitting of the State, by the Example of
 the *Ten Tribes*, and the *Medes* under *Dejoces*,
 Instances, very fatal to a *British* Constitution.
 In this Account of the Revolution, there is
 no Alteration of the old Monarchical Form,
 but only a single Monarch by his own Act and
 Deed deliberately gives up his own Personal
 Right, in such a Way, ^h as is Tantamount to
 a *Written Resignation*; Now as in this Account,
 there is evidently no Manner of Room for
 the Doctrine of censuring, judging and exe-
 cuting the sacred Person of the King, nor yet
 of altering the Constitution, or as you express
 it, *retaining all the Power in the Peoples Hands*,

^h See Sir
 George
 Treby's
 Speech at a
 Conference

Chap. VIII. of which there is not the least Shadow of Pretence in all the History of this great Affair: So to trump up these Notions, and apply 'em to this very Transaction is not only False and Scandalous, but does in a very impious Manner, directly level this glorious *Age* with the horrid Rebellion in 41, for *there* the People did undertake to judge and censure their Monarch, for every the least pretended Mismanagement; and to condemn and barbarously Murder him: Had the Law and Constitution been violated, or even ruin'd and totally subverted, yet the seizing and abolishing the Rights of the Crown, dissolving the three Estates, and Monarchy it self, and erecting a Tyranny worse than that they pretended to pull down, was by no means a Way to restore it; This Mystery of Iniquity is so exactly suited to all that Scheme of Government, which you have drawn, that nothing more seems to be wanting to give those who call'd themselves Saints when alive, a Canonization after their decease: And the Justification of those Regicides you may think perhaps a tolerable Piece of Villany, because others have done it before you: But to draw new and unheard of odious Parallels between two States, as contrary to each other, as Hell and Heaven, Light and Darkness, Happiness and Misery, is a Work truly Diabolical: The Powers of Hell are it seems the only Government you own: How proud are you of their proper Shape, which even they lay aside whenever they attempt a substantial Mischief! The general Accounts of the Revolution are sufficient to confute those Maxims of Government, which you have

have advanc'd: There is no need of entring Chap. VIII
 into all the nice Circumstances of that memo-
 rable Æra, which if thoroughly known and
 search'd into were no doubt manag'd with the
 same uniform Conduct and Wisdom: but to
 revive a Controversy of this Nature, in all its
 minutest Parts and Niceties, is of dangerous
 Consequence to our Government: It gives
 room to all the political Medlers, to blend
 their traditional Stories, secret Histories, pri-
 vate Letters, and Memoirs, into the publick
 Accounts of that Transaction, and thereupon
 to build their Systems and Notions of Govern-
 ment: It lets the Enemy in upon us, with
 their old Artillery, Wrangle and Raillery, and
 makes that Disputable, which we hope is esta-
 blish'd: If Men will swear first, and as *Salomon*
mon speaks, *after Vows make Enquiry*, if
 Oaths and Laws and Statutes cannot settle us,
 it is impossible to think that Controversy
 should; There have been many Turns in the
English History, much to the Advantage of
 the Subject, tho' perhaps none so glorious as
 that of 89. but notwithstanding this, it was
 always the Wisdom of our Ancestors to let
 the Measures of Obedience run in the old K. James
 Channel: One of the Wisest of our *Kings Injunct.*
 expressly forbids the Pulpit to determine of 1622.
 these, but to preach in General as the Church
 dictates, and there is the same if not a greater
 Reason for the like Restraint upon the Press;
 extraordinary and excepted Cases ought in
 their proper Places to be remember'd, with all
 the Joy and Thankfulness, that is due to the
 Greatness and Glory of the Deliverance: But
 to suffer extraordinary Cases to be strain'd

Chap. VIII. and new modell'd, and then form'd into ordinary and general Doctrines, can neither be safe or useful in Politicks or Divinity: 'Twill give the common Enemy room to consider, how they may Form their wicked designs more cunningly the next Time; and make our Ruin more easy and certain; In short, *Phil!* Not Pamphlets and Libels, but written Laws and Statutes are the true Measures of Submission and Obedience, these, and not Nature and Reason at large, are to declare, what is Rebellion: your Way is indeed the most Expeditions, and decides the Controversy to a Nicety, by alledging, that there really is no such Crime: For as 'tis usually said, that if the King be the supreme Judge, he will by no means be brought to pronounce himself a Traytor, so if the People be the supreme Judges, they'll as hardly be brought, to declare themselves Rebels.

P. Well, *Tim*, since I don't find thee quite so bad as I expected, I have another very particular Question to ask thee—*High-church* or *Low-church*? *Tim!* Which art thou for?

T. What now, *Phil*? Are you going to chuse *Parliament-Men*? And are these the *Candidates*?

P. Fy! Fy! *Tim!* No such Matter.

T. What then? Are you drawing a Parallel between Towers and Steeples?

P. Prithee, *Tim!* Don't affect such gross Ignorance.

T. Perhaps, they may be just such another Brace of merry Fellows, as *Whig* and *Tory*.

P. The Devil a Barrel the better Herring.

T. Well, but are these now different Churches?

P. No,

P. No, they all pretend to be of the same Chap. VIII.
Communion.

T. Have they any better Marks of Distinction, than those we just now parted with?

P. No, put prithee don't thou quarrel with 'um both, you know that was my failing.

T. Lookye, *Phil*, you are against the *Men*, and their Principles, I against the *Names*; and with these I may make bold, since I don't remember I ever heard any one Person own either of 'um, but one Side calls the other Side *Lowchurchmen*, and they again call the other *Highchurchmen*: Now, I would fain lay aside both, and take, *Salus Populi, Pro Aris & Focis, God and the Country*, any Phrase in their Room, that does but signify something; Besides, I won't quarrel with 'um, till I know why they quarrel with one another.

P. The *Lowchurchmen*, *Tim*! Are mild, moderate, and good-natur'd, the *Highchurchmen*, violent, fierce, and outrageous.

T. So much the better for 'um both, if they are one Society: for every well regulated Army consists of two different Sorts of Combatants, the Sedate, the Cool, and the Thoughtful, these are fit for Projects, Stratagems, and forming of Enterprizes; and the Hot, the Bold and Fiery, these are for Dispatch and Execution; In the Business of Rhetorick and Oratory, there is the soft, winning Way, the argumentative, convincing Way, and there is Fire and Brimstone, Faggot and Pitch-fork, for those that deal in Terrors and Thunder; Thus too in all well built Churches, there are *Cherubims* and *Angels*, that smile and invite and charm you, there are *mitred Heads* and

Chap. VIII. grave Salary, to make you vicious, and there are Dragons, Bears, and Lyons, to terrify you, and these always gape for the carrying off and spewing out the Filth and Dirt and Moisture, that would otherwise defile the Building, and bring it to ruin and decay. Now all these, however different, are in their Degrees useful, and in their Stations honourable.

P. Oh! But then, the Highchurchmen are for putting down their Enemies and destroying them; the Lowchurchmen are for sparing them, and shewing them Favour.

T. Still, why should they differ? Mercy and Justice are easily reconcilable, and make a very happy Couple in Conjunction.

P. But the Highchurchmen, they are for a rigorous Execution of the Law, the Lowchurchmen are for Mitigating and Softning it.

T. Then, no question they do excellent Justice between 'um: and the Deuce is in the Folk, whom neither Mildness nor Severity can reclaim.

P. The Highchurchmen, they are for destroying their Enemies.

T. If they are really Enemies, 'tis most certainly an excellent Device: Alexander and Caesar were famous for it, and the Moderns take the very same Method in Flanders.

P. Now the Lowchurchmen are for wheedling, cajoling, and drawing 'um over.

T. Well then, certainly if they are for Peace with their Enemies, 'tis not because they would go to war with their Friends; Why should they quarrel with their own Side, since they are so kindly dispos'd to those that are against 'um?

P. But

P. But which art thou for, Tim?

T. Why should I be for either, till I know wherefore they quarrel?

P. But what dost think of 'um, Tim?

T. I don't much care to think at all of 'um.

P. Why so?

T. Because always give place to my Betters. I knew a Friend of mine, a very bold Fellow, a Writer of *Christian Rights*, who undertook the *Umbrage*: and first he told the *Highchurchmen*, that they were a Company of Persecutors, Bigots, and Traytors, that deserv'd to be suppress'd the *shortest Way*: then, he took the *Lowchurchmen* to task, and told 'um that their *Friends* were the *Path* to Tyranny, and were as bad as *Highchurch*, that their *Reformation* was entirely secular, and had ne'er a Word of Religion in't, that their *Revolution* was a *State of Nature*, and consequently of Confusion, and that their present establishment was only *durante bene placito*: Then, he call'd for *Highchurch* and *Lowchurch* both together, and with a malicious Grin told 'um, they might e'en depart as they came, since a Man might be of no Church at all, and yet be as Good as either of 'um, and that their quarreling was *our* Safety, which he hop'd would last till Doomsday.

P. And what of all this, Tim?

T. Why, still say I, why should they quarrel among themselves, till they have first agreed to *down* with all such sawcy Fellows, as make merry with 'um both: and after having been school'd and disciplin'd by *Pamphleteers* and *Politicians*, for at least twenty Years together, if the two Squires have at last found them-

Chap. VIII. themselves *Unratable*, and can neither manage a Pack of Dogs, nor shoot Woodcocks, 'tis high time they should knock off, and very prudently agree upon a *third* Person.

P. Suppose, all this while *Tim*, these two Combatants should be rivals in a Lady, 'twill then be very difficult to reconcile 'um.

T. Why then, no doubt, that Lady will manage wisely, and turn 'um both to a good Account: The wheedling and complaisant Lover should be employ'd in the Household, and Bedchamber, to address her Beauty, and to celebrate her Charms, and Perfections: but the boistrous and termagant Spark, should be sent out upon Errands and Enterprizes, to quell Monsters and Gyants, to dissolve Enchantments, and to assert her Glory and Pre-rogative.

P. But now, suppose the Difference between 'um be a religious Difference, then the Quarrel will be so much the Wider.

T. You say they have not *two* Churches nor *two* Religions.

P. But perhaps, one Side may be for encouraging Churchmen.

T. Why? Are not Churchmen encourag'd then?

P. I mean for bringing the Clergy into more Power.

T. Not so, *Phil*, you have so pester'd 'um with Divinity, that the additional Load of Politicks is too much for 'um in all Conscience: and they are not of the Tribe, that is to

* Gen. 49.

14.

P. Why then do they complain of the Decrease of Church Power.

T. No

T. No body complains of a proportionable Chap. VIII.
Decrease, and the Church is content with
Neighbours fare: When Kings, and Princes,
and Peers, and Lords of Mannors, parted
with many old Rights and Customs, for the
Improvement of Liberty, the Church did not
expect to be excus'd, and her Condescension
we doubt not will be for her Security: but
your good Nature and Civility appears in its
proper Colours, who would push her into the
Kennel, because she gives you the Wall.

P. Ah, *Tim!* There's another Difference
between *Highchurch* and *Lowchurch*, the *Toler-*
ation Tim!

T. With the publick Toleration, *Phil,* I
have nothing to do, but to observe it: My Busi-
ness lyes altogether with *that* Toleration,
which you have been pleas'd to enact in so am-
ple a Manner; for my Part, I think it just and
equitable, to deal tenderly with the Tender,
and courteously with the Courteous, and mo-
derately with the moderate: and I am verily
persuaded; if half that Art which has been
made use of to harden tender Consciences, had
been apply'd to soften 'um yet more, and
make 'um fit to receive the Impressions of that
Church, which is the *tenderest* Mother in the
World, they had all e'er this been within her
Bosom; what a noble Opportunity does this
Law give us, to exert all the Power and Force of
primitive Persuasion? Shall a *Jesuite*, or a *Roman*
Missionary, Travel, and Sweat, and Labour,
to persuade *Foreigners* and *Barbarians* to a false
Religion, and shall we be less Vigilant to win
over our Friends and our Neighbours to the
Truth, who are so tenderly dispos'd to em-
brace

chap. viii. brace it? When shall we be as eager to heal, as some are to widen our Breaches? We should then soon be convinc'd of that fatal Point that divides us, and should discern between those, who make a right Use of that Law, and those who claim the Liberty without the Conscience; in the famous Controversy and Parallel between Ephraim and Judah, whilst they liv'd at Peace one with another, whilst Ephraim did not envy Judah, nor Judah war Ephraim: Whilst they had David for their King: Whilst they had one Shepherd and walk'd in the same Statutes and Judgments: Then, the Stick of Ephraim being join'd with the Stick of Judah, became one Stick, and flew out upon the Shoulders of the Philistines; 'Tis true, God chose not the Tribe of Ephraim, but chose the Tribe of Judah, and there built him a Temple: But when Ephraim departed from Judah, went to the Assyrians, and sent to King Jereb: Then was the whole Seed of Ephraim cast out; When Ephraim became a Bullock unaccustom'd to the Yoke, When she confederated with Syria, and committed Whoredom: When her Iniquity was discovered, when she mixed among the People, and loved Lovers: When she made many Altars, when she fed on Wind, and increas'd Desolations: When she spake trembling to exalt her self: When she compass'd Judah with Lyes, and the House of Israel with Desert: Then she became like a silly Dove, like a Heifer that is caught: When she receiv'd Shame, and fell in her Iniquity: Then was she desolate in the Day of Rebekah, and oppress'd and broken in Judgement: Thus you see, Philistines, what Miseries ensue, when the sacred Eyes of Unity are broken,

¹ Isaiah 11.

^m Ezech.

37. 24.

ⁿ Ezech.

37. 24.

^o Ezech.

37. 17.

^p Isa. 11.

14.

^q Isa. 7. 17.

^r Isa. 7. 17.

^s Hof. 5. 13.

^t Ibid.

^u Jerem. 7.

15.

^v Jer. 31.

18.

^w Isa. 7. 2.

^x Hof. 5. 3.

^y Ibid. 7.

^z Ibid. 7. 8.

^a Ibid. 8. 9.

^b Ib. 8. 11.

^c Ib. 12. 1.

^d Ib. 13. 1.

^e Ib. 11. 12.

^f Ver. 11.


^g Ib. 10. 11.

^h Verfe. 6.

ⁱ Ibid. 55.

^j Hof. 5. 9.

^k Verfe 11.

ken; and a Difference between Friends rises to *Chap. VIII.*
 a Division and open Rupture: and therefore, 
 I declare against Incendiaries on both Sides;
 and wish, both Church and Meeting so much
 Power in this respect, to discover the wily and
 treacherous and falsehearted, that betray them,
 and mis-represent us, and make both their Li-
 berty and our good Nature an Occasion of setting
 us at a farther Distance from each other, these
 are they, that would persuade Ephraim not only
 to Envy, but even to vex Judah, and then says
 the Context, ° the Adversaries of Judah shall be ° Isai. 11.
 cut off.

13.

P. I am glad, thy Zeal has some bounds to
 it, Tim! That's no High-church mark.

T. Now in my Opinion, Zeal and Mode-
 ration, ought to make no difference among
 Friends: They are both Vertues, and useful:
 And they have Extreame, belonging to 'em,
 both equally dangerous: I should rather think,
 that Two such Neighbours should have a more
 than ordinary respect for one another, as ha-
 ving frequent Opportunities of doing mutual
 Services, and being in a very particular man-
 ner qualify'd for one another's Friendship:
 the Satyr that blew hot and cold, made a
 right use of both; The Saints and Martyrs of
 old, were all equally valu'd, both those that
 could rebuke even Kings, and those that could
 themselves bear the Rebukes of many Peoples
 and 'tis a question, whether the Great Saint of
 all, were more amiable, when he patiently
 endured to be scourg'd himself, or when he
 zealously scourg'd others for defiling God's
 Temple; Suppose I were hot and passionate:
 I should be glad, to have a Neighbour gently

and winn

Chap. VIII. winn me off with Mildness and Moderation, and upon any sudden and eager Resolution, make me sit down, *Sugar* me, and cool me: On the other hand, I should be no less oblig'd to him, who would give me a friendly Jogg, or an amicable Tweak by the Nose, when I was slumbring at Church in the midst of Prayers, or nodding upon the Bench in the very Crisis of Judgment and Justice.

P. Well, well, *Tim*! the Designs of the Party thou wouldst defend, are plain to all the World.

T. Lookye, *Phil*, I am no better qualify'd to defend either Party, than you are to accuse 'um; of what Party are you, that you pretend to know their Designs? Or who's mad enough to let you into the Secret? For my part, my Charity is as extensive, as your Inclination for Mischief: we see Deferters come dally over from each Side, and yet they don't offer to swear one another into a Plot.

P. However, *Tim*, tho' thou art in a reconciling Mood, yet thou see'st the World makes a difference between 'um.

T. And yet, where Opposition is the only Principle on both Sides, were I a Leader of either Party, I should never despair of coming into play again: and since all the Difference lay in Tempers and Qualities, I should readily hope, that my Humour would once more grow into fashion, and become useful and diverting to the Publick; Every Dog has his Day, *Phil*: The Spaniel, Bull-dog, Setter, and Blood-hound, are in several Seasons useful and Entertaining; The Wheel of Fortune whirls as it pleases, and there's none always at the Bottom, but *Turnspits*.

P. Leave

P. Leave all that to the People, they know how to chuse I warrant thee. *Chap. VIII.*

T. Poor tame Animals! how are their Masters diverted, when after a Washing or Sheering, they drive 'um up into Parcels, Letter 'um on the Back, and set 'um to Bleating High-church! or Low-church! a Comprehensive sort of Divinity, Parallel to those Texts, Cry aloud and spare not! But, Down with 'um! Down with 'um even to the Ground! These take Words without Things, and Men without Principles: whom they reverence after an old Fashion, only for the Namesake; These make Samplers of Law and Gospel, and resolve all Religion and Government, into Two senseless Syllables; Here is Party in Perfection! and High-church and Low-church, like Two Terms in Magick, serve only to conjure up evil Spirits; The Mob, always like themselves, have neither the Wit nor the Leisure to qualify 'um, but take 'um both in Extreames: and they prove a wretched Mixture of Heats and Colds, Alkali's and Acid's, Fevers and Lethargy's, enough to destroy the Constitution of Ten Kingdoms; Now, let them be valiant, that like it, but when a Breach is made, and some of these loud-mouth'd Engins mounted on a Battery, ready to roar, just as they are Charg'd and Fir'd by their Gunners, tho' they bellow High and Low never so loud, yet for my part, I should think my self in much better Company, among a parcel of Boys, in Bibbs and Leading-Strings, that would civilly tell me their Names, and what Vows and Promises their God-fathers and God-mothers made for 'um.

P. Well,

W. Well, *Tom*, if ever thou had'st occasion to shew thy self, 'tis now we are come to the *Ninth Chapter*, the *Arden Ecclesiastica*, or *Edmund's Treatise of Black-puddings*, in opposition to the Line of Succession, which I think I have so shatter'd and broken, that I defy all Mankind to set it together again.

T. But before I set upon this great Work, there's one Question between us left untouched, which I think 'tis very proper should be first decided.

P. What's that, *Tom*?
T. 'Tis touching the Extreames of *Liberty* and *Power*, which of the Two is most likely to be abus'd, or may in all probability do most mischief. For having in this Chapter said so much against Absolute Monarchy and Passive Obedience, tho' 'twas nothing at all to the Purpose, which shews the greater Spite at it; Now I think fit to let you know, that Absolute Liberty, your Favourite, is a great deal worse than tother, and of more dangerous Consequence.

P. Prove that, *Tom*.
T. I shall, Sir, as fast as ever I can. But before we proceed too hastily, I think it will be highly necessary to premise, that Absolute Monarchy and Absolute Liberty are my utter Aversion, and I'll do what I can to keep out both; but all this is only by way of Paper Scuffle betwixt you and I; the rest of our Neighbours, thank Heaven, have nothing to do with either; However, in your Introduction, you undertake to prove, that all Power is originally in the People, that from time to time it depends upon them, and they may if they please

please recal it and retain it in their own Hands, and this is Absolute Anarchy: Now as I do not nor cannot pretend to justify Absolute Monarchy for its own sake, so neither do you Absolute Anarchy, for the one, say you, naturally produces the other; By the way, I must desire you to take notice, that there is really no Difference between Liberty and Power, when they are both Absolute: for a power to do any thing is the very same with a Liberty to do any thing, and then the Question comes to this, which is most mischeivous and injurious to a Country, and which most eligible, an *Absolute Monarch*, or an *Absolute Mob*?

P. I'm for the *Mob*.

T. And I for the *Monarch*: and my Reasons are these. 1. An Absolute Monarch being a single Person, unless he can persuade his People that he is immortal and invulnerable, must have some regard to their Love and Affection, and endeavour to winn 'um by general Acts of Kindness and Justice; His Tyrannical Strains must not reach too far, nor his Oppressions be too frequent and extensive; But now none of these Considerations take place against an Absolute Mob, they are truly immortal and invulnerable, being the Majority and Force of the Society, they want no Guards nor Garrisons, they are their own *Janizaries* and Liveguards, and therefore may Ravage, Plunder, and Destroy as they please, without fear of Muriny or Rebellion. 2. Absolute Monarchs cannot attend to all the Acts of Cruelty and Injustice, to which they may be inclin'd: and therefore, they must act by

U

their

Chap. VIII. their Ministers and Deputies: and as *their* Persons are not so sacred as their Sovereigns, to screen 'um from the Fury of an Incens'd Multitude, so they will be easily induc'd to divert the Sentence, or at least mitigate the Execution, from a Consideration, that they themselves are Subjects, and may in the same manner with equal Justice take their Turns of suffering, Tyrants being very apt, upon any the least Disgust or Disappointment, to wreak their Vengeance on an unjust Favourite; But now, what's all this to an Absolute Mob? They are both Judges and Executioners: They employ no Deputies, consult no Favourites, and where an Absolute Monarch has but One or Two Instruments of Cruelty abroad, they have whole Armies and Legions.

3. There are Laws belonging to the most Absolute Monarchy, at least Nature and Reason and History will supply 'um with general political Rules, and many of these the worst of Tyrants will observe in some measure, if not for Justice sake, yet by way of Policy and King-craft: but as neither Reason, nor Nature, nor History, do admit of a pure Absolute Anarchy, so 'tis impossible to fix any Laws, where there's no difference between Subject and Sovereign, but all is levell'd and lies to common: A giddy Humour, a Fit of Novelty, the least and most trifling Accident in Nature or Fortune, are their Statutes and Ordinances, and the only Rules to which they tye themselves: Frenzy, Faction and Outrage, are the same to them with Reason and Equity, and the Mob can no more help being govern'd by 'um, than the Stubble can resist the Flame,

or

or the Waves the Whirlwind. 4. 'Tis easy for a whole Nation to gratify the most Luxurious Monarch, and without Universal Oppression, to fill his Palaces with Treasure, his Table with Delicacies, and his Chamber with Beauty : But how can we satisfy an Absolute Mob ? What an infinite Number of Passions, what variety of Lusts, Ambition, and Avarice, must belong to such a Monster ! They may Plunder, and Usurp, and Ravish, without ceasing, and yet be still unsatisfy'd. 5. The Decrees and Edicts of Absolute Monarchs are serious and deliberate, do usually take up some time in the Debate and Contrivance, and this admits of Petitions, Remonstrances, and the Cry of the Subject, to attone an angry Tyrant, at least to defer his Vengeance ; But the Mob fall on at Random, and when flesh't with Blood and Plunder, proceed much farther than at first they propos'd : They admit of no Delays, no Terms of Truce and Accomodation : You might as well parly with a Tempest, or propose Articles of Peace to a Thunder-cloud. 6. All Absolute Monarchs, in their foreign Wars and Contentions with other Princes, are then reduc'd to a Necessity of obliging their Subjects, to keep 'um from Desertion and Conspiring with other States, or calling their Neighbours to their Rescue : but 'tis otherwise with the Mob, they are the Force of the Society, where'er they move they bear down all before 'um both Foreign and Domestick, and carry such a Contagion of leveling Principles and the whole System of Anarchy along with 'um, that all Foreign Princes fly from 'um as from a Pestilence, least their own Sub-

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jects become tainted with the Infection, and join in the Confederacy for a *Universal Republick*. 7. The longest Arm of a Tyrant can never reach all, some of his Subjects are secur'd by Distance, and others by Obscurity: But there's no retiring from a Mob, they cover the Face of the Earth, compass Sea and Land, and there's no avoiding them, but by flying to the Desert and the Wilderness, and to the more agreeable Company of Brutes and Savages. 8. All Absolute Monarchs, however in themselves headstrong and unweildy, do yet rely on such Councillors and Favourites, as have at least the crafty, subtle and politick part of Wisdom: Now, where these are kept up in any Degree, 'tis impossible that State should be utterly void of all Vertue and Justice, at least of their Shadows and Appearances: But the Mob are Enemies to every thing that looks like Wisdom and Vertue, and Constancy: and they can sooner cease to be, than to be giddy, inconstant, and distracted. 9. Absolute Monarchs always take care to preserve Unity both in Religion and Government, such as they are: now, 'tis impossible, that Unity can be consistent with an utter overthrow of all Justice and Piety, there must be some good things in the Mixture: but Discord and Confusion are the Properties of the Mob, and where these are, Men sin the *Rounds*, and strain their Wits for Inventions and Variety of Wickedness, and there's not one Vertue or Duty that can hold 'um long, or be of any durable Obligation. *Lastly*, 'Tis plain from Experience and History, that Absolute Monarchy has obtain'd in some Countries for many

many Ages, and been the only Form of Government they ever were acquainted with, it being such a Power as the Person in possession may quietly enjoy, without ever exerting it or putting it in Execution: but if the Mob do not keep up their Power by constant Acts of Tyranny and Violence, it gives an Opportunity to some of the ablest Heads amongst 'em, to settle and compose 'em by Degrees, lead 'em into the Yoke, and then manage 'em at Pleasure: So that Anarchy, being a continu'd act of violence, this makes it the less lasting: and withal, 'tis a State so odious and hateful to the better sort of Subjects, that it never endur'd long: and therefore in all our Modern Republicks, care is taken to Qualify Elections, and wholesome Laws are provided to keep out that Level and Confusion, which you so much extol and magnify.

P. I protest, Tim! thou art a perfect Politician, I begin to be in pain for my *Line of Succession*: however, it shall cost thee one Tug or Two to get it again.

T. Never fear, Phil, if there be here and there a Link wanting, a little Forging and Filing, you know, will set all to Rights again: We'll tell over these same Popish Beads, and if there should be one broken or out of its place, yet I'll warrant we find a Crucifix at the End on't. For I must needs tell you, I have a great Love for *Successions*, and as hearty a Concern for the Episcopal Pedigree, as for a String of Pearl or a Bracelet of Diamonds.

P. Well then attend, little Tim! — The *Divine Wisdom*, &c. Paragraph the first.

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See all
Exodus.

T. Now, how is it you can expect that I should answer all this Jargon at a Lump? Alas! my Parts won't serve me for such a purpose, and therefore I must desire leave to take it to pieces; and, II. I say, that the Ecclesiastical Orders are establish'd by *Revelation*, and all *Revelation* is miraculous, and such an extraordinary Priesthood was thought necessary, because I believe scarce any Body before did even imagine, that the ordinary Priesthoods, the *Jews*, the *Druids*, or *Bracmans*, were at all fit for the purpose. 2. We are of Opinion that the People were never yet depriv'd of the Right of Determining as they thought fit in Matters Ecclesiastical, because they never yet had that Power, neither under the *Patriarchal*, *Jewish*, or *Christian* Institutions. 3. We have certain Authors and Historians by us, which do say, ^P that God did miraculously interpose among the *Jewish* People, even before the *Horeb* Election; neither can we find that the Stories of the Frogs and Lice, were really translated from *Aesop's* Fables, or that the *Red Sea* was divided by a Company of the *New-River-Men*, or by any of the Modern Systems in *Hydrostaticks*. 4. We having chosen God for our King, do hope by your Argument, that he will also interpose as wonderfully amongst us, if ever there should be an Occasion. 5. We say, that the Independent Right of the Priesthood, consisting wholly in things pertaining unto God, can by no means signify any thing to the secular Rights of the People. Lastly, we take it, that every political Society, is subject to Imperfections; the Infirmities of a Man are the Absurdities of a Man, and

and the State being Human, as well as the Members that compose it, must be equally liable to Error. But the Ecclesiastical Society is so eager to be made infallible; and so readily prepar'd for that glorious unspotted State, which the Scriptures promise her, that she'll thank the first kind hand, that makes the least advance towards her Perfection.

P. It may be so: but I'll prove, that this System of the Succession, is not only liable to Infirmities, but utterly inconsistent with the very being of a Church, as well as with the Good of the State.

T. But before you set upon all these terrible Adventures, I desire we may glean up a few Notions, that lye scatter'd up and down this Chapter, which may serve to smooth our way to the main Question, and enable us to decide it more easily.

P. And what are they, Tim?

T. Why, of Ordination, Penance, the Indelible Character, Occasional Conformity, and such like, which you touch upon briefly and by the way, tho' sometimes not at all to your purpose; If you please, we'll begin with Ordination.

P. Well, and what of that Tim? does it appear from Scripture, that there were Two different Acts of Election and Imposition of Hands?

T. I'm sure, the Scriptures mention Imposition of Hands as the Apostolical Method of Ordination, but the looking out, or as you call it, the Electing of Persons, fit for the Ministry by the Soberness of their Lives and Conversations, belong'd to the Disciples and Presbyters; thus the Deacons, thus Matthias, and

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Timothy and *Titus* were ordain'd : and this both the *Græck* and *Latin* Fathers describe at large, as the ordinary Method of Initiation into the Christian Priesthood : and *St. Jerom* himself confesses, that Ordination is the Privilege of Episcopacy, and of *that* Order only : so that, here's one Distinguishing Mark, and if there were no more, this would be enough to spoil your Parallel.

P. Is it not plain, that the Laity in the first Centuries, elected their own Bishops ? *St. Cyprian*, *Gregory*, and *Clement Romanus*, do all assert it.

T. And we all own it was so in many Places : But upon the great increase of the Church, Canons were made on purpose to suppress popular Elections, and it came to this issue at last, that the Person to be Ordain'd, was presented publicly, and the People at liberty to Object, which Custom is still retain'd ; But supposing the People had Elected, yet your ¹ *St. Cyprian* and ² *St. Gregory*, do both affirm, that besides this, Election, Consecration, and Ordination were also requisite, which they tell us are both Divine and Apostolical Rights of the Church : and the last of those Fathers adds, that Imposition of Hands was the only and constant Ceremony us'd on that occasion, in Imitation of the *Overshadowing* of the *Holy Ghost*.

P. Why is it not commanded then ?

T. So 'tis, for these things are written for our Example : Besides, 'tis not the Ceremony so much as the Substance that we insist on : Let the Bishop enjoy the Power, whether he ordains by Patent, Certificat, or Imposition of Hands,

¹ *Lib. 2.*

Epis. 69.

and 76.

² *Lib. 2.*

Epis. 4.

Hands, is not so much the Question.

P. And do'st thou think that *Crete* and *Ephesus* are an Ecclesiastical Pattern for the whole World?

T. I do think, *Phil*, that *Crete* and *Ephesus* are an Apostolical, and consequently a Divine Pattern, and that since our Church is modell'd by the same Pattern, to go about to alter it, is to impute Folly to the first Inventors.

P. Now I think, we are no more oblig'd to chuse our *Overseers of the Poor*, by the Apostolical Form of ordaining *Deacons*, than we are oblig'd to have our *Goods in common*, as the first Christians had.

T. As to the having *Goods in common*, that depended on the *then State of the Church*, when 'twas divided only into *Families*: and therefore, *that* ceas'd upon the Church's becoming *National*: But now *Charity* is perpetual, and we *have the Poor always with us*, and therefore, the *Care of them* continues; 'Tis true, this *Care* was then purely *Ecclesiastical* and belong'd wholly to the Church, because a *Heathen State* would not provide for the *Christian Poor*: but upon the *Union of the State and Church*, the *Poor* return'd to their old *Pay-masters*, the *Care of 'um* became a *Secular Concern*, and their *Overseers*, a purely *Secular Office*, were chosen by the *State*, and the *Deacons*, who before were an *Ecclesiastical Order* only for a *Time*, were admitted by the *Bishops*, their proper *Governors*, into a higher *Post* and a *Share of the purely Ecclesiastical Power*; for *Bishops* having *Apostolical Jurisdiction* (the extraordinary part only excepted)

Chap. IX. cepted) alter'd this Method by the same Pow'r, by which the Apostles first instituted it : and indeed, 'tis not the Alteration so much, as the Authority by which those Alterations are made, that is in Dispute before us.

P. Oh! Tim! that's soon ended, for if the State may make Overseers of their Poor, and dispose of their Alms as they please, they must of course make the Clergy, since of old, they did subsist on the Alms of the People, as appears by the Ancient *Missal*.

T. Admitting however this *Popish* Evidence, the Laity's maintaing the Clergy will I believe, no more prove they can make 'um, than their paying Taxes, will prove the Crown *Elective*. Besides, I question much, if you have translated the *Missal* fairly. How many Settlements of Lands are there in England, which the Law calls in *Liberâ Elemoxynâ*, which you may translate *Free Alms*, if you please, but I can assure you, 'tis as good a Title and Tenure as any in *Littleton*.

P. Præter, Tim, read *Besa*, and *Luther*, and *Sadeel*, with the *Hugonot* and other reformed Writers, and see what they say.

T. Indeed, Sir, I shan't enquire after 'um. Besides, their Case was quite different: they separated from *Rome*, the only Church that could supply 'um with Bishops, which she would not do without a Renunciation of their Heresies, and I must needs say Episcopacy is best let alone, if we cannot have it without *Idolatry*: and yet 'tis plain that even the Reformed themselves, when Episcopacy was become *Protestant*, endeavour'd to introduce that Form both into *Holland* and *Geneva*, and nothing

thing but the Averſion of the People was the Hind'rance, which coſt Calvin many a Scamper; Nay, do not all the *Presbyterian Churches*, even at this Day, own the *Episcopal Power*, tho' they are for dividing it among many? For why elſe do they ordain by an *Assembly*, if they did not believe, that there was a *Diſtinct Power* in the Church, and conſequently a *Diſtinct Order*, from what any ſingle *Presbyter*, much leſs the People, can pretend to? Indeed, *Phil*, I thought e'er this, all Appeals to foreign Churches, would have been laid aſide: I can aſſure you, if you go to the *French Church*, to the *Wallachians*, to *Calvin*, *Beza*, *Bucer*, *Grotius*, and *Limborch*, they'll ſend us home again to our own Biſhops, as the beſt Reformers we can meet with.

P. Did not the *Convocation*, by ſubſcribing a Book, intitl'd, *The Inſtitution of a Chriſtian Man*, own that *Biſhops* and *Presbyters* were the ſame by Scripture, and have not the *lower Houſe of Convocation* a ſhare in the *Legiſlature* with the *Biſhops*, and yet theſe are all *Presbyters*?

T. If the *Convocation* did own this, they own'd no more than was true: For in Scripture Apoſtles make the *Third Order* of the Church, and 'tis in that Order that the *Fathers* reckon the *Succession* of *Biſhops*: but becauſe they do not retain the extraordinary part of that Office, therefore the Name is modeſtly diſcontinu'd, and another, which is however of Scriptural Authority, ſubſtituted in its room; 'Tis true, the *Lower Houſe of Convocation* have a ſhare in the *Legiſlature* with the *Biſhops*, which is agreeable to the *Primitive Customs*

Chap. IX. of our Church : but it no more makes 'um the same Order with Bishops, than the *Commons* having a Share in the Legislature with the *Lords*, makes 'um all *Dukes, Earls, and Peers of the Realm*.

P. But, *Tim*, there are Instances where even the *Church of England* has own'd the Ordination by *Presbyters* to be valid, as appears from the Case of the *Scotch Presbyters* under Archbishop *Bramhall*, and that of *Travers* and *Celandrini* : nay the famous *Alexandrian Church* for some years had no Bishops : and does not 12. Car. 2. say, that *Ecclesiastical Persons, if ordain'd by Ecclesiastical Persons, should keep their Benefices* ? And cannot the *Universities* give Orders without a Bishop ? How came Sheriff *Tavernor* to preach amongst 'um, *Tim* ? And is it not the Opinion of some, that most of the *Northern Clergy* were ordain'd by the *Abbot of Hye*, a *Presbyter* ?

T. As for the *High Sheriff*, *Phil* ! I have nothing to say to him, he's a terrible Man and may command the *Posse* : only, I suppose, he did not make a Practice on't, unless perhaps the *University* ordain'd him to't, as you say they can in spite of all the Bishops in *England* : I know their Privileges, *Phil*, and have felt their Power : But this is a Strain I never heard of before ; 'Tis true, they make *Doctors in Divinity*, but that confers only a Degree, and not Orders, and should they make any one a *Doctor*, who is not ordain'd, as I believe 'twould be the first Precedent of the sort, so all he could pretend to would be only to read *Theological Lectures*, but by no means to Preach in the Church and Administer Sacraments ;

ments; To much the same purpose is your Story of the *Abbot of Hye*, who makes a very good Evidence, since the Authors you quote cannot agree about the Person: Nay, you are of opinion, he had an Episcopal Assistant, or as you translate it, a *Journyman Bishop*, to Ordain for him: I suppose, your meaning is, that when he had converted the *Northern Countries*, he sent 'um to a Bishop for Episcopal Ordination, himself being only a *Presbyter*, which is indeed a very curious proof against Episcopal Ordination: And yet, if it be not so, 'tis very hard to suppose a *Bishop* would be a *Journyman* to an *Abbot*, which is much the same thing, as if a *Taylor* should keep a *Journyman Mercer*, or a *Bricklayer* employ an *Architect* to work under him; But now, if my Conjecture might be admitted in this dark Story, I fancy this same *Abbot* might be one of those, that have the Power of Ordination given 'um by Bishops, of which you observe there are many in the *Romish Church*: Now, such a one, you may if you please, call a *Presbyter*, that is, because he has not the Title, the Jurisdiction, and Power of a Bishop: but I can assure you, tho' his Dominion reaches no farther than an *Abbey*, he's as compleat an *Apostolical Bishop*, to all Intents and Purposes, as some of the primitive Bishops were, tho' their Power reach'd no farther than a single Town or Parish; As for *Travers* and the *Rest*, 'tis plain from the Cases themselves, that 'twas rather a *Toleration*, than a *Right*, made in favour of the reform'd Churches, and to patch up the wretched Disorders of Anarchy and Confusion: Besides, it only admitted

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Ordination by *Presbyters* to be valid, when no other was to be had, but it did not give those *Presbyters* a right to ordain others, which alone can destroy the *Episcopal Succession*: And this *Permission* being made by *Bishops*, was in the Nature of Ordination, and was certify'd in Writing, as appears from *Travers's Case* laid before the *Council*: So that, 'twas only a Suspending the Primitive Way of Imposition of Hands, which is a mere Ceremony, tho' it be a Ceremony that's Apostolical; Tho' after all, your producing so few Instances is a certain Sign, that the constant Doctrine and Practice of the Church is otherwise: There being no Law so firm, and Universal, but in the Course of many Ages, 'twere easy to find many more Exceptions to it, than what you have produc'd against the Right of *Episcopal Ordination*, and these being altogether in favour of the *Presbyterate*, are equally valid against your way of *Ordination by the People*.

P. 'Tis a very easy matter, *Tim*, to trace the Rise of this Power of *Ordination*: when any thing was offer'd to God, 'twas the Custom of the Congregation to lay their Hands on it, and so was it, when a Person was offer'd to God for a Priest, as appears from the Account of the Consecration of the *Levites*: Now it being inconvenient in large Congregations, for the whole Body to lay their Hands on one Person, the Priests did it in the Name of the People, till at last they claim'd the sole Power of it to themselves, and thence sprung the Divine Right of *Ordination*, a Term equally applicable to *Physicians* and *Lawyers*, nay, the

Laity

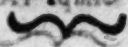
Laity were as much an Order heretofore as the Chap. IX.
Clergy.

T. Lookye, *Phil*, the Power of Ordaining could never take its Rise from the Congregation's laying Hands on what they offer'd, because Ordination was before any such Oblations were made in the *Jewish Church*: Neither would the Custom have been discontinu'd upon the Score of Inconvenience, for at first when 'twas brought up, the *Jewish Congregations* were much larger than those of any succeeding Church; And here *Aaron* and his Sons were first separated from, not chosen by, the People, by the immediate Appointment of God, and his Vicegerent, not by the People, to minister in the Priest's Office, and to pass between God and them: the People could no more depute him, than they could give him Inspiration, or a Passport to approach the Divine Presence without danger, or the Judgment of *Urim* and *Thummim*: for these Reasons he is call'd the *Saint of the Lord*, and the *Chosen of the Lord*, and all Sacrifices in the *Jewish Church* were consequent to his Ordination; Besides this, the Custom of laying Hands on the Sacrifice, obtain'd chiefly, where any particular Person was to offer for himself: nor did this import any Consecration of the Sacrifice in the Person Offering, but only a tacit Confession, that he who offer'd, did deserve himself to fall a Sacrifice in the stead of that Beast which he then presented for himself: Thus the *Jewish* Doctors themselves explain the Ceremony: Had this Offering been the Consecration, there had been no need of the Priest's laying Hands on it too, which was absolutely requisite, before

Chap. IX. fore the Oblation could be call'd *Holy*, or the
 Service compleat: but in all general Oblations,
 which were made in behalf of the whole Con-
 gregation, the Priest only was to lay on his
 Hands, as in the famous Case of the *Scap-
 Goat*, that was to bear the Transgressions
 of all the Children of *Israel*: in the perform-
 ance of which Worship, had the laying on of
 the Hands of the whole Congregation been
 requir'd, as well as the laying on of the Hands
 of the Priest, it would not have been omitted
 in the Exactness of the *Jewish Law*; any more
 than in the Case of the *Levites*; Then, the
 Congregation's laying their Hands on the *Le-
 vites*, was a particular Oblation or Gift made
 by the People to God, not at all necessary to
 their being ordain'd to any Holy Function, as
 he who examines the whole 8th Chapter of *Num-
 bers*, may easily find: The Case at large, is this
 God claim'd to himself in an especial manner
 ' Ver. 17. ' all the first born of *Israel* both of *Man* and *Beast*,
 to which he pleads a Title, because he had sav'd
 all their first born when he destroy'd those of
Egypt: Now this Offering, or rather Pay-
 ment, the whole Congregation made before
 God, not by way of Atonement, but in be-
 half and instead of all their first born: Nay,
 even this Ceremony of a *Present* was not made
 to God immediately by the People, for after
 ' Ver. 11. they had laid their Hands on 'um, ' *Aaron* was
 to offer 'um before the Lord, and this compleat-
 ed the Oblation and, made it intire: But
 what God was pleas'd to do with the *Levites*
 thus offer'd, and how he dispos'd of 'um af-
 terwards, is altogether new, and in this the
 People are not concern'd: For the Text tells
 us,

us, that after this, by God's Order, *Moses* Chap. IX.
 was to take the *Levites*, and set 'um before *Aaron* and his Sons, to separate 'um from among *Ver. 13.*
the Children of Israel, for says God, *I have gi-* *Ver. 19.*
ven the Levites as a Gift to Aaron and his Sons,
from among the Children of Israel: So that, 'tis
 plain the People had no hand in this last Cere-
 mony, which was the Ceremony of their Or-
 dination: and if *Aaron* was to offer the *Le-*
vites, as the Deputy and Minister of the Peo-
 ple, what need had he to offer 'um in this Case,
 when the People had already laid their Hands
 on 'um? How ridiculous is it to depute a Mi-
 nister to do that for the People, which the
 People have already done for themselves!
 Had it follow'd from the Peoples laying Hands
 on the *Levites*, that they also ordain'd or they
 blest 'um, this had been something: but the
 bare Ceremony of laying on Hands, without
 any other act of Consecration express'd, can
 no more signify any Spiritual Power, than the
 laying Hands on our *Saviour* by the *Jews*, can
 be suppos'd to give him his *Priesthood*; far-
 ther yet, if the People's laying Hands on the
 Sacrifice before the Priest consecrated it, were
 really a part of the Consecration, or if their
 Consecrating the Sacrifice were an Argument
 why they could consecrate the *Sacrificer* also,
 as if they could prescribe to God what Mini-
 sters he should have, who should declare his
 Will, and instruct his People, yet 'tis plain
 our *Saviour* and his *Apostles*, vary'd from this
 Form: There being no manner of pretence in
 the *Gospel*, for the Laity's laying on Hands or
 being any ways concern'd in Ordination:
 so that if it were an Alteration of the Primi-

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tive Form, 'twas such as the *Holy Ghost* approv'd and ratify'd, and therefore we may very well pronounce it orthodox and *Christian*. The Apostles Ordaining Ministers, and then sending them to foreign Churches, and recommending them as the Embassadors and Ministers of God, would have been very senseless and impertinent, if their Ordination depended on the People they were sent to: and *Simon Magus's* Money, which he offer'd to the Apostles to be admitted into their Order, would have been very ill bestow'd that way, if he could have had the same pow'r by a Deputation from his own Followers, or by bribing the Votes of the People: And the Apostle's time was ill spent in traveling up and down the World to ordain Ministers in every Church, if the Church or Congregation could and ought to do it for themselves; *Lastly*, we are much oblig'd to you, for saying, that *Physicians* and *Lawyers* are as much an Order as the Clergy: For if Men, who are *in the Hands of their own Council* as to what concerns the Body and the Conveniences and Necessaries of Life, may set Two Orders apart, with Privileges and Powers to each, for preservation of their Health and their Properties: certainly, God, who has the immediate Care of Religion, and who alone can prescribe the Terms upon which we shall approach him, may by the same Rule even of worldly Wisdom, set another Order of Men apart from those that are Temporal, to take care of what's Spiritual and immortal; To the same purpose is it, that you mention the *Order of the Laity*: since *that* of it self, is an Argument and Proof of the

the Order of the Clergy: How could the Laity make a distinct Order, if there were no Clergy? Can *Orders* subsist without *Distinction*? Does any Man talk of the Order of the *Commons*, in a State of pure Anarchy? Could the Body be call'd a *Part* of Man, if he had no Spirit? So that 'tis plain, this very Argument, by which you would confound the Clergy, does really distinguish them from the Laity, and at the very same Time it distinguishes you from both, by some very extraordinary Qualifications.

P. After the same Manner, *Tim*, the Clergy from pronouncing the Sentence of the Congregation, undertook to excommunicate.

T. But now, *Phil*, give us an Instance of this same *Ecclesiastical Poll*, when, and in what Church, and upon what Question was the Dispute and how went the Majority? For with what Face can the Apostles and Primitive Fathers give us so many Canons and Ecclesiastical Laws, by their own Judgment and Authority, without producing *Poll-books* and *Subscriptions*, or letting us know at what *Election* or *Ecclesiastical Sessions*, they were debated and agreed upon, if that were the Right of the People? When our Saviour refers all Ecclesiastical Causes to the Church, is it his ^{Mat. 18.} Meaning, that we should upon every difference, go summon the whole Nation to come give their Votes, and *Poll* for the Plaintiff? Does he not rather refer to some establish'd Order in the Church, set apart for that Purpose? When St. Paul excommunicated the Corinthian, does he not call it his own ^{1 Cor. 5.} Judgment, and that he had pass'd this Judgment at 3.

Chap. IX. a Distance, even contrary to their Sentiments, who were for retaining him in their Communion? And elsewhere boasting of his Authority, and that he had in a Readiness to revenge all Disobedience, by which he means Spiritual Censures, that being the only ready revenge of an Apostle, he adds, that tho' absent, yet he would by Letter exercise that Power amongst 'um, even in Spite of their Obstinacy, who thought his Presence weak and his Speech contemptible; and agreeable to this, is the Primi-

* Epist. 14. tive Form: * St. Cyprian places this Power in
li. 3. & ib. the Bishop, assisted with the Bench of Presby-
Epist. 9. tery, and adds, that the Laity should not be excluded, that being contrary to the Nature of

* In 5 Cap. all publick Judicatories; St. Ambrose * is of
1. ad Timo. the same Judgment, only complains, that the Church had laid aside those Censors, which were formerly appointed: and these however some fancy to be the same with Lay-elders, yet

* Instit. li. b. Calvin himself owns 'um, to be the Persons
4. c. 11. 5. ordain'd, and of the same Rank with Presby-
6. ters: nay in the following Section, he rails heavily at Lay Judges in Matters purely Ecclesiastical, which he there calls *Officiales*, as Persons that usurp'd upon the Rights of Christianity.

* St. Jerom. P. Whence was it, Tim, that the Clergy got their Power in Ecclesiastical Causes, particularly that of inflicting Penance, but from their being consulted by the People in the proper Methods of Mortification, subduing of Lusts, and other inordinate Desires?

T. If it were an Usurpation, Phil, I'll averr 'tis an Apostolical One: you have forgot the Stories of Elymas, Ananias, and Saphira: They

They did penance with a Vengeance, but Chap. IX.
 this the Church does not pretend to inflict:
 For, after Excommunication, the only true
 Ecclesiastical Penance that the Church requires,
 is Repentance and publick Satisfaction: and
 Satisfaction for an Offence, is what even pri-
 vate Persons may justly insist on; As for any o-
 ther Penance, 'tis entirely Temporal, given by
 the State in Favour of the Church to streng-
 then her Authority: and upon this Penance,
 the Criminal is restor'd: so that it must be a
 just Consequence, if the Bishops and Clergy
 only can excommunicate, they only can restore:
 and that the Clergy are only the Assistants of
 the Bishop in this Case, is plain from hence,
 because, the Primitive Church places this
 Power so far in the Bishop, as that without
 him it could not be valid: St. Cyprian seems
 to be of this Opinion, but then in ^d another
 place, he adds the Clergy as Assistants to the
 Bishops herein; there is a ^d Decree, that pla-
 ces in the Bishop without the Clergy, but
 both the second and third Councils of Car-
 thage say, a *Presbyter* may admit a Penitent,
 but not without Authority from the Bishop: and
 therefore, you see the excommunicate *Corin-
 thian* could not be restor'd, without *Letters*
 from St. Paul, and by his Spirit, that is, his
 Authority: So that on all sides 'tis agreed,
 that the Laity had no share in this Matter, if
 they are usurp'd upon, show us when they en-
 joy'd this Right: Surely, there can be no A-
 buse or Usurpation that is Apostolical; Sup-
 pose, your Reason should be true, that the
 Clergy got this Power by the Peoples consult-
 ing them in Affairs of Conscience: yet, is it

Lib. 1.

Epif. 2.

Lib. 3.

Epif. 14.

Araus.

Concil.

Chap. IX. not a good Reason? For since this Right belongs to the Church, barely taken as a Society, who are so fit to judge, as they who were thought fittest to advise with? Do we make Judges out of Clowns and Peasants? Or chuse our *Councillors* from the Clod and Cart-house?

P. 'Tis true indeed, *Confirmation* is Apostolical, but then our Bishops should no more pretend to it, than to cure *Blindness with Clay and Spittle*.

T. And yet the Apostle ventures to reckon
 'Heb. 6. 2. this Article, 'among those lasting ones of Baptism, and the Resurrection of the Dead: and 'tis remarkable, that this Office was perform'd by the Apostles *only*: for after ^a Philip had baptiz'd some Converts, he brought 'um to the Apostles for *Confirmation*: and yet in all Probability, *Philip* himself could give the *Holy Ghost*, for the Text tells us, *he wrought mighty Wonders and Miracles*: upon which, St. Jerom can't forbear ^b remarking, that 'twas reserv'd to the Apostles and Bishops, *purely to do Honour to that Order*; And that it continu'd in the Church after the Apostles, is plain from many ^c Testimonies notwithstanding your Consequence; And tho' you say, they may as well pretend to cure Blindness with Clay and Spittle, yet to make good the Parallel, either you must prove, that the *gracious Descent* of the *Holy Ghost* is ceas'd as well as his *miraculous*, or that the *Holy Ghost* has a particular *Aversion* to Prayer, Imposition of Hands, and the Person of a Bishop: all which when we see prov'd, we'll acknowledge our former Blindness, and own the Cure to be extraordinary. In the mean Time there's another miraculous
 Exploit

^a Contra
 Lucif. Cap.
 4.

^b Terrul.
 de Baptist.
 Euseb. En-
 nis. Sermo.
 de Pente.
 Aug. de
 Trin. l. 15.
 26. Cypri-
 ad Iub. 73.

Exploit for you to defend, and that is *Occasi-* Chap. IX.
onal Conformity.

P. I desire, *Tim*, the Apostle *Paul* may do it for me: since 'tis plain, he blames the *great Apostle of the Circumcision*, for the want of it.

T. Now to me it is so far from the Want of it; that it looks to be the very same thing: for, 1. *St. Peter* ate with the Gentiles in such a Manner as was necessary to Salvation, at the same Time that his Conscience told him 'twas not necessary. 2. The Text tells us, he *dissembl'd*, or play'd the Hypocrite, by *Gal. 2.* siding with the *Jews* in Opposition to the Gentiles, when he profess'd himself to be a Minister of the Gentiles. 3. He preach'd to others, to live as did the Gentiles, tho' himself adhered to the *Jews*. 4. He did all this out of a temporal Prospect, because he fear'd *those of the Circumcision*; let any Man, that's us'd to draw Parallels, find a better Match if he can for *Occasional Conformity*!

P. But suppose it were Hypocrisy, *Tim*, does not the *famous Bill* design'd against it, rather increase than diminish it?

T. It may be so, but what's the Reason of all that? Is it not because some Mens Consciences are too slippery for all Laws? For my own Part, I am pleas'd with things as they are, and had rather trust the Consciences of our Governors, that they'll never employ any such People: than trust them, that they'll never evade the Law, when they can so dextrously evade the Gospel; a forc'd compliance is sometimes, like a Mask to a Whore, it hides her Face, but gives her no Modesty: and

Chap. IX. e'en let those, whom no Law can reclaim, go open and barefac'd.

P. Nay, *Tim*, the *Bill* was not design'd so much to prevent *Occasional Conformity*, as *Occasional Non-conformity*, for after the *Test* taken, a *Dissenter* could not go to Church, and he must not go to a *Conventicle*.

T. That is, they had rather be of no Religion at all, than of the Church of England, and yet had rather be of that for some Time, than lose a little temporal Profit: so then 'tis plain, they prefer that to all Religion whatever: Are these the Men that undertake to teach Charity and Moderation? Would these Men come over to us, if we bated 'um a few Ceremonies, who can chuse rather to be *Atheists*, than of the Church of England? 'Tis enough for the *Papists* to say, we are all *Reprobates*, but these Men prefer a State of *Reprobacy* to our Church, and yet had rather be in such a State, than lose a little Preferment: I hope all this while, *Phil*, you only misrepresent these People, or have you a Mind to revive a *Bill* whose Equity all sides have acknowledged? For my own Part, I'm no *Casualist*, but I must say I would not have such Men hearken to such a Conscience, when after the *Test* taken, it advises 'um to return to the *Conventicle*, for should it cost 'um the *Penalty*, they would have a very hard bargain, and give more for the Commodity than 'tis really Worth; However there's a Friend of mine, who can give 'um farther Satisfaction in this Case, and can tell 'um, that they may go to no Church at all, and yet for all that be very good *Christians*.

P. Come!

P. Come! Come! *Tim!* 'Tis the want of Chap. IX.
that Charity, which is the Consequence of Oc-
casional Conformity, that makes Men take the
Sacrament on purpose to list under the *Priest's*
banner: Men of narrow Notions of Religion!
That notwithstanding the *Creed*, deny the
Communion of Saints.

T. Now, *Phil*, you have said all at once:
for Atheism being, as you have prov'd, the
Consequence of *Occasional Conformity*, *that*
we all know is a very charitable Profession;
Now do but observe here our Charity for
these People: did we not believe they had
some Saints amongst 'um, we would never try
to bribe 'um over to our Communion: but
then how ungrateful is it in them, to suppose
we have no Saints among us, and after one
short Visit, when they are pay'd for't besides,
to come no more into our Company? Which of
the two, is the best Maintainer of the Commu-
nion of Saints? You may if you please call the
Sacrament the *Priest's banner*, Baptism has been
call'd the *Church's banner*, and yet was never
the worse lik'd of for all that: and you may
call the Liturgy, the *Word of Command*, and
Preaching, *beating up for Volunteers*, but what
if you should finish the Allegory, and send us
forth in Battle array against these Enemies of
Charity and Moderation, this Host of *Hig-*
flyers and Philistines?

P. Hast thou not observ'd, *Tim*? That the
Clergy have all along narrow'd the Terms of
Communion, on purpose to get the Prefer-
ments into their own Hands: whereas hereto-
fore, not only the *Calvinists* and *Independents*,
but even *Papists* could frequent our Com-
munion.

T. By

Chap. IX.

Job. 2. 1.

T. By your Favour, Sir, 'twas *our* Communion and not yours: and if they did, I'm sure 'twas high time to narrow indeed: For tho' an entire Separation be impossible, yet to sow Tares and Wheat together is not therefore good Husbandry; But why do you instance only in the *Independents* and *Papists* and *Calvinists*? Alas-a-day, Sir! *Occasional Conformity* is Scripture-proof, and of as Ancient a Standing in the Church as the Time of *Job*, for then 'tis said, when the People of God came together to worship, Satan came also among them; But now, if the *Papists* by their *Occasional Conformity* in *Q. Elizabeth's* time got into the Government, and even the Privy Council, if the *Independents* in 41. by allowing *Occasional Conformity* to other Sects, which the *Presbyterians* heartily oppos'd, tho' they both deny'd it to the Church of England, and to the King in his last Agonies, let in the whole Spawn of *Ranters* and *Enthusiasts* upon themselves, and put all into a State of Disorder and Confusion, then, I think, the Advice is never the Worse, tho' it be *Presbyterian*, to draw in and narrow as fast as ever we can, and where there is no Law to keep up the Custom, which is much better, that they shall have nothing to do with the State, who will come but once to the Church. As for the Clergy, 'tis not their secular Interest to suppress the *Dissenters*, for they are the best Paymasters they have: nor yet to narrow the Terms of Communion, since in all such Feats, for one Canon that binds the Laity, 'tis odds but there are ten incumbent on the Clergy, and with a much stronger Obligation; would any new Test give the Clergy a *Fifteenth* instead

instead of a *Tenth*, or convert a *Vicarage* into a *Rectory*, something might be said: but, alas! Let the Terms be how they will, I don't find but there are more *Parsons* than ever, and yet the same Quantity of Preferments still: and as for secular Preferments, they are at present annex'd to so much business, as well as the Ecclesiastical, that an *amphibious Animal* fit for both Elements, is very rare and almost Prodigious; so that all they intend, poor Men! By the Matter, is, to keep their own, that none of it be lost: and that they may know what is their own, to mark it up ever now and then, and set the owners Name upon his Goods: To walk about *Sion*, to Guard all her Approaches, and if there be any remarkable Breach, to be sure to mind that Post, and set a constant and a strong Watch before it.

P. Occasional Conformity was not so terrible heretofore, Tim, when the Government encourag'd the *Wallbons* and *Hugonots* under Q. Elizabeth, whereby the Nation was supply'd with many useful Manufacturies, and 'tis well known our Embassadors and other Gentlemen in France, frequented the *Hugonot Churches*, and kept up a very useful Intelligence there, till they were forbid by the *Laudan Faction*: for the same Reasons, I suppose, that the *Savoyards* and People of *Orange* were kept from being *naturaliz'd*: and yet the *English Church* holds it lawful, to communicate with any other Church that enjoins nothing sinful.

T. But now supposing, Phil, 'tis a good Way to make an Interest in a *Popish Country*, for an Embassador to be sure to keep in with *Protestants*: and tho' those *Protestants* injoin nothing

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nothing sinful as a Term of Communion, so, that it becomes lawful to communicate with 'um, yet there may be other Reasons, and those neither *Popish* nor *Laudian* ones, why such Communion ought to be avoided; for that, which is barely lawful or permissive, if by being put in Practice, it necessarily brings Scandal upon our Brethren, or encourages them in Evil, does then become unlawful and sinful: Now, so long as we thought the Dissenters in *England*, would make a right Use of this Example, and because we communicated with any Church, that did not require any sinful Terms, therefore they would communicate with us at home, whom they could not prove to hold any such, so long was this a commendable and charitable Practice: But when once the Dissenters here at home, began to make sinister Reflections on our Charity, and to imagine, that because we countenanc'd the *Presbyterian* Churches abroad in every lawful thing which they held, therefore we did the same in every thing they omitted: when our joining with *Presbyterians* abroad, was thought a Reason why we should not look upon 'um here at home as *Schismatics*: and these Notions began to spread, and take even with some of the establish'd Church, then was the Practice broke off for fear of encouraging our Enemies, and scandalizing our Friends; Besides this, the foreign Churches and especially the *Charenton* Assembly did not long deserve our Encouragement, but secretly endeavour'd to betray us, and held private Intelligence with all our bosom Enemies, whom they halloo'd on to our Destruction; 'twas not there-

fore

fore the *Landau* Faction, nor yet the *Matches* with *France* and *Spain*, that broke off this Practice: but 'twas the Dissenters themselves: and if they spoke and thought Evil of our *Foreign Occasional Conformity*, what would they have us say of their *Domestick*? As to our encouraging the *Walloons*, *Savoyards*, *Hugonots*, and People of *Orange*, if any of the reform'd abroad are taken with the Privileges of our Country, or the Purity and Beauty of our Church, what can be greater Encouragement than freely to admit 'um into both? And who ever oppos'd this, but those hot Zealots who oppos'd all the *French Churches* that have receiv'd the *English Liturgy*? This is no more than what all Governments expect from Strangers: The *Jew*, *Turk*, and *Heathen*: Nay 'tis what they expect from us, whenever we transplant into other Countries; to admit Foreigners upon their own Terms, is to admit 'um not as *Refugees*, but *Conquerors* and *Invaders*: The State ever did, and ever will prescribe the Terms of *Naturalization*, and in those will always have a very particular regard to Religion; But when you come, you take no notice of that, but fling down all the Fences at once, and let in the whole Deluge upon us; no Matter what Principles the Men bring, so they can give a good Account of the *Bill of Lading*: as if *Kerseys* and *Cantalooms* were to be compar'd with *Peace* and *Unity*, and a Sett of *French Prophets* might be welcome in Company with a good *Cargo* of *Claret*: But I believe we shall hardly humour you so far, as to place *Confucius* among the *Twelve Apostles*, to encourage the Importation of *China ware*, or change our

Sabbath to Saturday, for the Improvement of Mr. Bartlet's Manufacture of Spring-Trusses.

P. I observe, *Tim*, ever now and then thou art for giving the Dissenters a *Spat*.

T. A *Spat*, as good as a *chuck on the Chin*, Sir, and as friendly, but when you come, you knock 'um all down at once: for don't you say, that the *Presbyterians* do not pretend to fetch their Orders from *Rome*? Now if they do not fetch 'um from thence, where else they can have 'um I know not; the *reform'd Divines* broad, when they parted from *Rome*, took their Orders along with 'um, and kept the *Succession* whilst they renounc'd the *Idolatry*; Now, 'tis plain, the *Presbyterians* hold *Ordination* by *Presbyters*, and not by *Laymen*, to be the only Ecclesiastical Ministry; and this *Presbyterate* must be by *Succession*, as well as *Episcopacy*, else, the first Founders must be *Laymen*, and they not being *Presbyters* could not consequently ordain; Now, when the World was under *Papery*, where then was their Church? And where is that primitive Church, under a *Presbyterian Form*, whence they derive their Orders? So that upon the Whole, I don't find any great Difference between you and the *Tories*, since you can unchurch the *Dissenters* as fast as they.

P. Thou hit'st off every thing at the first Bound, *Tim*, but I believe I shall play something upon thee at last, that won't be so easily return'd. What think'st thou of the *indelible Character*?

T. I think as you do, that the Character you speak of, is a *Trust*, and I'll allow it to be revocable; that is, by the Person, who made the

the

the Trust: but then, your proving it *revocable* barely because 'tis a *Trust*, will scarce be admitted by e'er an Attorney in *Norfolk*, and why? Because to their certain Knowledge there are several Sorts of *Trusts*, that are *never to be revok'd*.

P. But is this of that Sort, *Tim*?

T. I fancy it may: and I'll venture a few Reasons upon't; that a Bishop may deprive a *Presbyter* and *Deacon* of their Orders, is allow'd, because the Bishop is of a superior Order, and when he ordains to either of the other two, he ordains a Subject, and an inferior, and one who by the express Terms of his Orders, is in constant Obedience to his Bishop: so that your instancing the Deprivations of *Presbyters* is nothing at all to your Purpose, Episcopacy being the only *indelible Character* of the Church; supposing it possible, that he could be depriv'd: the Question is by what Power, Temporal, or Spiritual? That the temporal Power can give Revenues, Jurisdiction, and the outward Exercise of any Spiritual Order, is granted, and in a legal Way can take 'um away again, I will not deny: But Orders and the pure Ecclesiastical Character, the temporal Power cannot give nor take away, because that which is purely temporal, can never reach it; The *English Law* is express in this Point, and makes Episcopacy an *indelible Function*, from which no earthly Power can remove those that are possess'd of it: and therefore our Kings and Queens of *England* have solemnly renounc'd, the Power of consecrating and giving Orders, and by Consequence the Power of taking them away:

Trin. Car.
B. R. E.
vans. and
Ascough's
Case. Latch.
237. 21
Hen. 6. 3.
by Mark-
ham.

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that if a Bishop can be depriv'd *ab ordine*, as well as *ab officio & beneficio*, for the Law makes such a Distinction, it must be done by some Ecclesiastical Power, and since every Bishop in the Church, has by the Gospel as much Power as another, *Archbishops, Metropolitans, and Patriarchs*, being rather *Dignities* than *Orders*, there being no more spiritual Power in one than in another (except what is intirely owing to the Favour of the State, and depends upon the Custom of private Churches) 'tis evident a Bishop cannot deprive a Bishop, and that, because Episcopacy is not an Order of *Subordination* but of *Communication*, and when a Bishop ordains a Bishop, he does not ordain an inferior, but an equal, he reserves no Superiority, but communicates all his own Power to another, whom he can no more deprive than the other can deprive him, because they are both equal, whether Synods or Councils may deprive a Bishop, I will not determine: 'tis enough for my Purpose, if they can deprive him of his Office and the Exercise, since before such Deprivation, his Orders were undoubtedly Good, and after it, he can ordain no more, at least no more Bishops, so that he can be no bar to the Succession; I wonder the Notion of an indelible Character should seem so very strange to some Men, for if it be not admitted, 'tis plain we part with all our *Apostles* and *Primitive Bishops* at once, there being scarce any of 'um but were depriv'd by some of the Heathen Magistrates, and a Sentence pronounc'd by a competent Authority, is *valid*, tho' *not Right*.

P. Thy

P. Thy whole Hypothesis, *Tim.* depends up- Chap. IX. 13
on one Notion, that is certainly false, *viz.* that
Schism and Heresy do not vacate Orders,
whereas I think they destroy both that and
the Succession.

T. *Doctors* differ, it may be now I think
they do not: but however, the Question may
be made indifferent: for supposing Synods and
Councils have Authority to depose a Bishop,
I will not deny that Schism and Heresy are ve-
ry good Reasons for putting that Power in
Execution, agreeable to the Sense of those
Synods you quote: but I will by no means ad-
mit of the Pope's Power of depriving, which
you so often instance in, because he acts by
Vertue of an Ecclesiastical Supremacy in the
Episcopal College, which Supremacy the Pro-
testant Church does not think fit to own, till
he can give 'um a better Account of it, than
hitherto he has done: But there's no need of
any Synodical Decree against an Atheist or In-
fidel, unless it be such as will take away his
Life and his Orders together, since his Orders
before his Atheism are good, and after it eve-
ry Act of Ecclesiastical Power is a plain Re-
nunciation of Infidelity; But whether the
Crime be Atheism, Heresy, or Schism, either
they vacate and annul all Orders at the very
Time of the Commission, or else only when
they are prov'd before a Legal Judicature, and
a publick Sentence of Deprivation follows:
if the latter, then 'tis manifest, such a Sen-
tence forbids all recourse to that Bishop for
Orders, especially for Episcopal Orders, and
the same holds good of any number of Bishops,
and so, this can never prejudice the Succession.

Y^a

Y

but

Chap. IX. but as to the Former, I can't think that Here-
 fy does upon the immediate Commission vacate
 Holy Orders, for then, the People would in
 some Cases be left without publick Worship.
 'Tis not so in secular Matters, 'the Injustice
 and Immorality render a Man as unfit for a
 Secular, as for an Ecclesiastical Employment,
 yet the Commission does not cease upon the
 immediate perpetration of any such Crime;
 but proof must be made, and tryal had,
 and Judgement take its course; I confess,
 Schism and Heresy are a good Reason why the
 Laity should dissent from a Bishop, that is
 from his Schism and Heresy, but 'tis no bar to his
 Episcopacy, that may be sound notwithstanding:
 That an Error in one Point is Damnable,
 may be allow'd, but that one heretical Notion
 will make many Orthodox ones to be *formally*
 Heretical, or that any one evil Action will
 make many good ones to be *formally* evil, is of
 its self Heresy; Besides all such Notions,
 must, as I hinted, render the publick Worship
 of God very uncertain, for a Man may be an
 Atheist and a Heretick secretly, and if there-
 upon his Holy Function ceases, then the
 Worship of God ceases, and the People are Schis-
 matics and don't know it; That Hereticks
 and Schismatics are unfit to be Ministers of
 Christ, I agree; that they ought to be silenc'd
 and punish'd, I own: and that they are not
 really Ministers of Christ, that is, in those
 Heresies and other Crimes which they hold
 and practice, I take for granted: but that the
 very Essence of Ordination ceases with every
 immoral Act or false Doctrine, I will no more
 allow, than I will allow that the Breach of a

ny one of the Commandments, is *formally* and *literally* the Breach of all the Rest; Under the *Law*, tho' *Aaron* himself the very first High-priest was notoriously Guilty of Idolatry, yet his Office did not cease thereupon, nor was he upon his Repentance reordain'd by God Almighty, and tho' in the Ages of the *Jewish Church* that immediately preceded our *Saviour*, with *that* wherein he liv'd, the Priests were utterly corrupted both in Principle and Practice, *Atheism* it self making a Party amongst 'um, yet even our *Saviour* own'd 'um as a Church, and justify'd their Succession, by acknowledging that they sat in the Chair of *Moses*: and in his own Church, and among his own *Apostles*, tho' he had a Devil, a Traytor, and a Thief, yet he was permitted in his Apostolical Function even till after our Saviour's Imprisonment, and his ⁿ Bishoprick, as ⁿ Acts 1. the Apostle words it, became vacant only by ^{20.} his Death: and after this in succeeding Generations of the Church, Heretical Bishops, if not condemn'd and depriv'd, were admitted to Councils and Synods: which plainly shews, that they were not by their Heresy reduc'd, *ipso facto*, to a meer Lay Capacity; No, *Phil*, what you advance is arrant *Popery*, for the Papists hold Orders to be a *Sacrament*, and that the Validity of every Sacrament depends on the Intention of the Priest, which is exactly your Principle.

P. And yet you acknowledge, that a Bishop may be depriv'd of his See, of his Bishoprick, tho' not of his Orders: Prithee what sort of a thing dost thou take a Bishoprick to be?

T. Oh! As pretty a thing as a Man shall light upon!

Y 2

P. But

P. But is a Bishoprick, a See, a District, or Diocess, of *Divine Right*, or merely Human?

T. Merely Human.

P. Well, *Tim*! And can there be a Bishop without a Bishoprick?

T. Not so neither, every Bishop has the whole World for his See.

P. If so, then there must be but *one* Bishop of the whole World: for there can be but one King, if the whole World be his Kingdom.

T. And there is but one Bishop of the whole World, the *great Bishop of our Souls*: the Rest, are only his Deputies.

P. I know not, *Tim*, whither thou art driving.

T. If you please, we'll explain this Matter a little more fully; When *our Saviour* ordain'd Apostles, 'tis plain, he ordain'd 'um every one to the whole World, else, it would have been necessary for the Gospel, to have fix'd to every one his District; were the Apostles, by the Gospel, less Bishops, in those Countries that would not receive 'um, than in those where they settled Churches? Upon *St. Paul's* leaving *Ephesus* and *Crete*, and translating himself to *Rome*, tho' you say *Translations* are of a Modern Date, did he cease to be a Bishop, and was a New Ordination necessary? If Sees are *jure divino*, where are the twelve Apostolical Districts? And why did the Apostles ordain other Bishops in their Lifetime, if themselves were ordain'd to the whole World, and each his District assign'd him; If *St. James* was Bishop of *Jerusalem*, was *St. Pe-*

ter, whilst in his Diocess, a meer Layman? Chap. IX.
 And when Bishops were ordain'd to go plant
 the Gospel in Foreign Churches, was a Divine
 Commission necessary to inform 'em upon
 what Island they should land, and where was
 to be their *Metropolis*? Here in *England*, the
 Law says that a Presentation is a temporal
 Thing, but ~~that~~ alone does not make a Cler- 5 Hen. 7.
 gyman: if it did, why should not the Lord of 37.
 the *Mannor* ordain; and the *Chancellor* conse-
 crate? Does a Vicar, upon his being remov'd,
 require new Orders? Or does that Nobleman,
 who takes a Chaplain ordain him? Or was
 the Young Man, whom *Micah* hir'd, a Le- P I Chron.
 vite only because he hir'd him, or was he not 17.
 really so before? 'Tis true, our Church has
 prudently order'd, that every one, who is or-
 dain'd, shall be ordain'd to something, and
 yet were this of Divine Right, and not barely
 for the Sake of good Order, 'twould no doubt
 be more carefully look'd into: Nay, this does
 not hinder the Ordination of those, who are
 certainly by Mr. *Dodwell's* Rule, *secundi*, and
 yet not *nulli foras alieni*: For in Case of a *Jus*
Patronatus, where two Persons contend for the
 same Living, the Priest, that loses the Bene-
 fice, does not thereby forfeit his Orders;
 Suppose some of the Members of the *Society*
de Propaganda fide, should desire Orders to go
 over and Convert the *Chinese* or *Bantamites*:
 I question, if it would be deny'd, unless they
 could first prove a Title to some district, and
 thereupon take *Institution* and *Induction* to
Quinsay, *Quebeck*, or *Peking*; so that upon the
 Whole, I could have wish'd you had not call'd
 this a *senseless* Notion, for I'm positive, you'll
 hardly

Chap. IX.

hardly prove it so, by Arguments of the same Stamp; You would fain see those Bishops, who had a Divine Right to divide the World into Provinces, Dioceses, and Parishes, now, I can tell you, there's no need of enquiring after them, because the Right by which this is done, is purely Human; You say, that unless every Bishop be limited to a District, 'twill breed Confusion, and we say so too, but then we say besides, that there's no need of a Text of Scripture to make out this extraordinary Discovery in Politicks; Then you are most terribly for making a Bishop and a Bishoprick *à la suite*, and you'd fain have 'um go together, and we are just of your Mind, we say every Bishop has his Bishoprick, and as large a one as he could wish, so that if an ambitious Prelate is not contented with what the Nation affords, if two or three thousand a Year won't satisfy him, let him chuse *Ispahan*, *Pera*, or *Constantinople*; and go over and settle a Christian Church there as soon as ever he pleases. Lastly, You are of Opinion, that to make many Bishops, and all Bishops of the whole World, makes just as many Contradictions, and that 'tis like making many Kings, and all Kings of the whole World, and there to we answer, that since you are for an Universal Head or Bishop, *Christ* is this one Universal Head you look for: and tho' he be actually now in Heaven, yet is he as much the visible Head of the Church, as God is the visible Governor of the World, and much more universal than any one mortal *Pope* upon Earth can pretend to be; 'Tis true to make many Kings, and all Kings of the Universe, does imply

imply many Contradictions, and the Reason of it is, because every King, as such, has a legislative or executive Power, and may make what Laws he pleases for the Good of the State, and so another may make just the contrary: But the Episcopal Power, so far as it is purely Divine, is only executive: 'Tis to put an unalterable Law in Execution, by preaching it to the World, and by providing for a Succession of other Preachers hereafter: Now where all preach just the same Gospel to all the World, where's the Contradiction? Certainly 'tis no more a Contradiction, to have many Bishops, than to have many Bibles, or than 'tis a secular Contradiction, to have many *Justices of the Peace*, all of 'em of the same *County*, and yet every one limited to a particular *Division*.

P. You seem'd to distinguish just now, between a Right to an Office, and a Right to the Exercise of that Office, is there any Difference, Tim? Between a Right to an Office, and a Right to do every thing belonging to that Office? This seems to be an Ecclesiastical Figure, commonly call'd *A Bull*.

T. I'll be positive, if it be a *Bull*, 'tis a Civil *Bull*, as well as an Ecclesiastical one: the Law makes the very same Distinction, for what's more common, than to confine and imprison temporal Officers? Is not this a Civil Suspension of the Exercise of their Offices? When a Man has an Office, from the Exercise of which he is debarr'd for some time for want of Qualifications, or when a Man is in *Commission* and refuses to *Act*, in all such Cases, there is a plain Distinction made between

Chap. 12. the Office and the Exercise, and this Distinction is now and then valu'd at four or five hundred Pounds; There is as much Natural Difference between them, as between the Power and the Use. For what they are in Logic, these are in Politics. But the Case is quite different in Ecclesiastical Matters, for that which makes the Disparity between the Civil Office and the Exercise, is, because both are given by the same Power, and therefore, to give one and take away to the other, seems inconsistent, and if done at the same time would be much more so. But now when God gives a purely Spiritual Office, no doubt he gives a Right to the Exercise of that Office, but then this last depending also upon the Consent of the States and Powers of the World, which God by the Gospel had no Design to interrupt, therefore the Magistrate may suspend or take away the Exercise of this Office, upon such Temporal Conditions, as he shall think fit to annex to the Spiritual: and this depends on the State's not being confin'd to Persons, for if they chuse such as have the truly Spiritual Office, the Ends of Religion are answer'd: they may chuse such only as will be content to exercise it on those Terms, which the Government proposes: the State is not ty'd to a Jacobite or a Conformist, if they be both Bishops, legally ordain'd, let him take the one, and the other, if he pleases, may turn Missionary.

P. Thou hast advanc'd a great many Notions here, T. that render the Nature of the Church very uncertain. I would fain know what thou takest the Church to be? I shall then see, how thou stand'st affected.

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T. The Church, *Phil*, has been so often, Chap. IX.
and so many ways defin'd, according to the Hu-
mour and Fancy of the *Definer*, that 'tis a ve-
ry hard matter to discover, what really it is:
However not to be discourag'd in the matter,
we'll try with a little Distinguishing to find
in some measure, what is its true Nature, and
wherein it properly consists; And, *r.* The
Church may be defin'd with respect to God
Almighty, and according to that Idea of the
Church which is in the Mind of God, it sig-
nifies that Society of the Faithful, which from
the Beginning of the World to the End there-
of, did and shall serve God faithfully and tru-
ly, and are and shall be Partakers of his Glo-
ry: but this being a Definition known to God
only, can never be that Standard, by which
we in this World can distinguish the true Vi-
sible Church. 2. The Church may be defin'd
in its *Military* State, as it is Catholick and
Universal, and so according to our Saviour's
Definition, it comprehends all those that are
gather'd together in his Name, or as our Church
defines it, a *Congregation of Christian People*:
and according to this Notion of a Catholick
Church, none are excluded; but only those
that deny the Saviour of the World; and
that Name by which alone we can be saved; But
now to this Profession of *Christ*, some add the
Scriptures and the *Sacraments*, and others Pu-
rity of Life; That the Sacraments and Scrip-
tures are not comprehended in the Latitude of
this Definition, is clear from hence, because
the *Thief on the Cross*, and all those *Christians*
that dy'd before our Saviour's Ascension, and
before any written Gospel was publish'd to the
World,

Chap. IX.



* Ad Vin.
Epist. 48.

* See Dr.
Potter a-
gainst the
Rights.

World, were most certainly Members of the Catholick Church, that Universal Purity of Life is not necessary, appears from hence, because there could be then no *Christian Church* upon Earth, neither would our Saviour have own'd the *Jewish Church*, if Corruptions were a Bar to its Essence; Agreeable to this St. *Augustine* avers, that a Church over-run with Scandalous Practices, does not lose the whole Essence and Being of a Church thereby; In short the Publick Profession of *Christ*, is that Center of Unity, which knits together the whole *Christian World*; Upon this Principle Mr. *Hooker* grounds his Opinion, that an Heretick, by being excommunicated a Private Church, is not therefore excluded the Catholick Church: 'Twas for this Reason, that the Prophets of old still communic'd with the *Jewish Church*, tho' miserably corrupted with *Atheism*, *Idolatry*, and every evil Work: nay, tho' at the same time, they were sent by God on purpose to denounce her Destruction; 'Twas for this Reason, that the *Arians*, and Hereticks of old, and the *Socinians* in this Age, are yet reckon'd of the Catholick Church, for professing and believing *Christ* tho' they can't agree about his Nature: Nay, some go so far, as to make the *Jews* a part of the Christian Church, for professing *Christ* only in *Faith* and *Expectation*: but certainly no one ever was so senseless, as to say, that the *Mohometans* are of the *Christian Church*, only for owning there was such a Prophet as *Christ*, and yet at the same time to deny the *Romish Church* to be a Part of the Catholick Church, tho' they believe in *Christ* and profess him for

their *Saviour*; however they miserably corrupt his Doctrine; That the Church of *Rome* is debas'd and wretchedly over-run with Errors, we all know, but that she is no part of the Catholick Church, her worst and bitterest Enemies will not say: *Calvin* himself does not go thus far: And the Church of *England* in her Articles, does not deny the Churches of *Alexandria*, *Jerusalem*, *Antioch*, and *Rome* to be Churches, tho' she owns, they have err'd; Now a Church may be defin'd yet more particularly, and as a part of the Catholick Church, to be a national or provincial Congregation of Men, professing *Christ*, separated from the Catholick Church, by some external and political Form of Worship; Lastly, There is another Notion of the Church, more narrow and exact, and that is of a true perfect Church, which tho' not absolutely free from the Practice of Vice, does yet in its Constitution, profess every thing, which by the Scriptures is necessary to Salvation, adding nothing as necessary, which is not, and is also provided with a Set of Rites and Ceremonies truly decent, orderly, and edifying; And here indeed, almost all the Disputes in *Christendom* Center: Every Church contending, that she is the purest and best reform'd, and most agreeable to Scripture; We of the Church of *England* think *our own* best, and we believe, if the Catholick Church were once more to be represented in a General Council, our own Model would be best approv'd; Foreign Churches and Professors have given us sufficient Encouragement, to think thus favourably of our selves, and that no prejudice of Interest, Education, or Custom, might

might blind our Judgments, we have endeavour'd to form our Church by that Primitive Model, which all acknowledge to be purest.

P. Well, Tim, and what's all this to me?

T. I'll tell you, Phil, for having now settled the Power of Ordination, the indelible Character, the Difference between the Office, and the Exercise of the Office, the Nature of a See or Diocese, and of the Church in General, we'll shew you, how cleverly we can answer all those arch Questions, and subtle Sophistry, which you have advanc'd in this Chapter.

P. Prither, Tim, let me see that done.

T. That you shall, Sir: In the first place, the Divine Power of Ordination, since 'tis no more than a Power to preach the Gospel, and to constitute a Succession of Preachers of the same Gospel for ever, can no more qualify a Bishop to tyrannize, than the power of propagating honest Will, Lilly, with all his *Genius* and *Supines*, and of Constituting and Appointing *Wishers* and *Pedagogues* to the same purpose, supposing such a Right were Divine, can make the High and Mighty Tyrant of the *Ferula* as great as *Dionysius*. 2. By maintaining the Right of Succession we do not unchurch any of the *Reformed Churches*, but only declare that they are not thoroughly reform'd and perfect: Or suppose we did, yet such a Notion as that, is no more against our Alliance with the *Dutch*, than our being *Protestants* is against our alliance with the *Emperor* or *Portugal*: The Church of *Rome*, and the Reform'd Churches, are both *Catholick*, for they

See Dr.
Potter's
gainst the
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they both profess *Christ*; but neither perfect and compleat, and yet of the Two the Re-
form'd most perfect, for to want Episcopacy only, is not so bad as to hold Idolatry, Super-
 stition, Murder, and Dishonesty, to be Ortho-
 dox and Venial: and 'tis better to hear Pray-
 ers said by a mere Layman, than to see a Priest
 make his own God. 4. If the *Scots* want E-
 piscopacy, their only way, as you call it, is
 not to resort to *St. Germans*, for our Episco-
 pacy and our Bishops are as good as theirs, and
 we are nearer at hand to supply 'um. 5. Op-
 posite Communions may be Members of the
 same Catholick Church, but they cannot be
 Members of the same pure and perfect Church,
 because these Terms of Unity are inconsistent
 with all Opposition whatever. 6. The Church
 of *Rome* is a part of the Catholick Church,
 and having Episcopacy amongst 'um, by a due
 Succession, may convey it to others: And
 when we separated from 'um, we did not se-
 parate from their Episcopacy, for ~~that~~ we took
 along with us, but from their other Errors;
 so that our own Bishops, being as legally or-
 dain'd as theirs, and a See being purely Tem-
 poral, we took the *Protestant* Bishops, and re-
 fus'd the *Popish*: and they have no reason to
 laugh at our Arguments against *Schismaticks*,
 for we dissented from *Rome*, because we prov'd
 'um not to be a pure Church, but we hope
 you have not yet prov'd ours to be so, and so
 long as you cannot, all Separation from us is
 unjustifiable. 7. 'Tis true the *Pope* is Anti-
 christ, but in what is he *Antichrist*? not in
 pretending to derive his Episcopacy from
Christ and his Apostles, for that's Matter of
 Fact,

Chap. IX. Fact, but in pretending to have a Commission from our Saviour, to be sole Bishop and to govern all the rest as Christ's immediate Vicegerent, in that is he *Antichrist*, and there we separate from him. 8. The *English* Bishops, by quitting *Rome*, did no more quit all the *Romish* Power and Jurisdiction, than the *Christians*, by quitting Heathenism, quitted the whole Moral Law, and dissented from the *Ten Commandments*. 9. The *Romish* Bishops could never deprive the *English* Bishops: Not, by Vertue of any Decree of the *Catholick Church*, because they are not the *Catholick Church*, but only a part of it. Nor yet by Vertue of any Synodical Decree of our own Church, from which themselves were excluded. Lastly, The Succession remains intire, because Schism and Heresie do not immediately upon their Commission vacate the *Episcopal Order*, and if that ceases upon any Synodical Decree, then the Exercise of that Power ceases, which cannot bar the Succession: So that the *Popish* Decrees against Schism, Heresy, &c. are of no validity in this Case, and the setting up of *Antipopes*, and Contentions of several Bishops for the same See, tho' they occasion infinite Disorder, yet since 'tis only a Struggle for a Temporal Thing, that can be no Hindrance to the Succession, which is purely Spiritual; And therefore he, who would prove that it is broken, must take quite another Method, and must prove, when the *Catholick Church* was without Bishops: when, and in what Churches, pure Laymen ordained to that Function, and from which of these un-

Epis-

Episcopal Churches the Orders of our English Chap. in Church are derived.

P. Well, Tim! thou hast nothing, to do, but to sing—*Extremum hunc Arctus*— For we are come to the Last Chapter.

T. But before I meddle with it, I beg leave to say something to a very Vulgar Error, which you take up with, which you frequently mention as a Matter out of dispute, and with which you very often insult us, like a Tory and a Papist as you are, and that is, the Antiquity of the Church of Rome: whereas, I can tell you, there are very good Reasons to induce us to believe, that the Church of England is much older than the Church of Rome, and that she is not oblig'd to her for the Christian Faith, and I would not by any means have our Church bates an Inch of her Glory and Prerogative: Some are of opinion, that in the Time of Tiberius Cæsar, England was converted to Christianity by Joseph of Arimathea, sent out of France, Anno Sal. 38, by Philip the Apostle: Others say, that Simon Zelotes preach'd here about the same time: Others again, that St. Paul, after his first Delivery from Imprisonment at Rome under Nero, came over and converted this Island to the Christian Faith: Many others there are of the Ancients, who jointly agree, that the Gospel was planted here very early, about the Year 240; Now, if St. Paul were really the Planter of this Church, after his first escape under Nero, it must be older than that of Rome, and of a much better and nobler Extract.

stant. l. 3. Soz. l. 2. c. 1. Chrysost. advers. Gentil. Tom. 5.

and

Chap. IX. and Descent : For St. Paul is by many, and
 some even of the *Romish Church*, reckon'd,
 tho' not the oldest, yet for his Labours and
 Writings, ' the more excellent and more
 powerful Apostle; But if our Church was
 planted by the *Jews*, it may, in *Tertullian's*
 opinion, boast of a more pure Spring and
 Fountain than the Church of *Rome*, or any o-
 ther Church in the whole World : And if, as
 some conjecture, we are descended from the
Greeks, of which our Observation of *Easter* is
 a good Argument ; We have no less Reason
 in St. *Augustin's* Judgment, to boast of our
 Descent and Pedigree, and to prefer it to that
 of *Rome*; However these things are, 'tis cer-
 tain, that before the coming of *Austin* the
 Monk, a Man ally'd indeed by Name to the
Father I just now quoted, but an utter Stranger
 to his Learning and Vertues, who was sent by
 Pope *Gregory* on purpose to debauch us with
 the *Romish* Superstition, about the Year 603,
 the Church of *England* had Seven Bishops and
 one Archbishop, and us'd the Service in the
 Native Language, *James* a Deacon of *York* and
John the Archchaunter, being the first that
 taught us *Musick* and the Use of the *Latin*
 Tongue : And our Church would not then
 acknowledge the See of *Rome*, as appears by
 several Witnesses, and even by a Letter of
 Pope *Eleutherius* to *Lucius* then King of *Eng-*
land, often quoted by our Writers : So that
 all I can find we are oblig'd to *Rome* for, is
 their spoiling and corrupting us, during the
 Space of *Nine Centuries*; Thus instead of
 their boasted Antiquity, we see how the *Pedi-*
gree runs in our favour; 'Tis no doubt, a
 good

Chrysof.
 in *Alia*
 Hom. 3.
 Idem in
 Epist. ad
 Rom. Hom.
 18. Gregor.
 in Job. 1.
 27. c. 6.
 Idem in. 1.
 Reg. l. 4.
 c. 4.
 Contra
 Marcion.
 li. 2.
 Epist. 178.

Beda. Lib.
 2. c. 1. 2. 3.

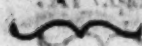
Idem. li. 1.
 2. Galfrid.
 l. 8. c. 1.
 Suscepisti
 in Regno.

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good Answer, when they tell us of our being Chap. IX.
Up-starts and Creatures of Yesterday, to say, that they ought rather to thank us for leading the Way to Amendment, and that we did not corrupt the Church but restore it to the Primitive Form; However, let us not all the while forget our Prerogative, and when they call to us to return to the Bosom of our Mother, let us bid them pay their just Duty and Respect to their Elder Sister: And if they ask us; where is our Church that was? we may readily reply with the very same Question; For, the *Tridentine* Church of Rome is a perfect Novelty, younger than our Reformation, and made almost as great an Alteration in Popery, as we did when we separated from it, only ours was an Alteration for the better, and theirs for the worse; Now that the Council of Trent made a perfect Novelty of the Church of Rome, altering the Articles of Faith, and necessary Terms of Communion, is very ingenuously confess'd by their own Writers, not only by Father Paul, but a whole Cloud of Witnesses besides, who all agree upon quite another Rule of Faith, than what the *Tridentine* Innovators afterwards settled; Upon the Whole, *Phil*, it appears, that you and your *Popish* Allies are extremely in the wrong, when you would attack the Church of England with the Imputation of Novelty: It shews your Firmness to your Friends, and your Spite at us to be the greater, when you can take up with so trifling an Argument, which is false in Fact, and, if admitted, nothing to the purpose. ques. 2. Papa Clemen. 1. dist. 37. c. 14. Cardinal. Goroll. l. 11.

See his History.
Bernard in Cant. Serm. 30.
Pet. Lombard. lib. 1. Sent. dist. 1.
Scorus. In 1. Tim. c. 6.
Idem Sum. Par. 1. qu. 1. ar. 8. Durand. in prolog. Sent. Camer. 1.

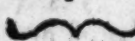
Chap. IX.



* Baronius.
ad an. Chri-
sti 35. &
ad an. Ti-
berii Imper.

pose. Indeed, you do ever now and then, keep pace with the *Papist* for many Pages together: but here you step before, and out-strip your Company: For on this Topick of Antiquity, there's a Jolly * Cardinal that sneaks behind you, and very frankly gives the Precedence of *Nine Years* to the Church of *England*; and so, from *Papists*, *Philatheans*, and *Cardinals*, I pass on regularly to the *Three Headed, Two Legged Beast*, the *Ecclesiastical Red Coat*, or *He-Whore* of *Babylon*. Chap. 10.

Chap. X.



P. Ay and he'll certainly come, unless you'll allow all Churches to be independent of one another.

* See Laud
against
Fisher.

* See
Oates's
Narrative.

T. So they all are, when once they have got Episcopacy amongst 'um, this is a * *Laudan* Principle all over: but however, for dispute's sake, suppose I should hold the contrary Notion: will it prove as good as an Army of * *black Bills*, or *Spanish Pilgrims*?

P. However I hope you own our Church to be Independent, since we abjure all foreign Jurisdiction, and 'tis in Ecclesiasticals as well as in Civils, because we have a Legislative and Executive Power of our own, therefore our Church, as well as State, is perfect.

T. We abjure all foreign Jurisdiction, because we have a good *Queen*, and good *Bishops* of our own, and *Bibles* of our own: so that we thank Mr. *Pope* for his Kindness, we desire to be excus'd, he can give us nothing but what we have already, except it be a parcel of Lumber, that we don't care to be troubl'd with: Nay, we'll supply any of the *Reform'd* Churches with a Set of *Bishops*, if they please, without claiming a Supremacy over 'um; But
were

were our Church in as much want as they are, we should be as much oblig'd by the Ecclesiastical Succession to go beyond Sea for our Bishops, as we are by our secular Succession to go to *Hannover* for a King.

P. When any Power gives a Right to an Office, that Right can extend no farther, than his Power does who gives it, and can never reach to any Independent Place: so that a Bishop in one Diocess, is a Layman in another.

T. When a Bishop by his Power gives another a Right to be a Bishop as well as himself, forasmuch as his own Power to propagate the Gospel and to ordain Ministers of that Gospel, reaches as far as the Gospel does, therefore by your Rule the other Bishop's Power must reach every whit as far, and no Place is exempted, but that only which is Independent of the Gospel; For the Apostles and their Successors being ordain'd to Preach all over the World, I would fain have you take the *Adap*, and point out some Place or other that is excepted and excus'd from this Matter: on my word, you'll save the Pope a world of Money a year for *Missionaries*; or for Experiments sake let me see you take a *Welsh* Vicar, remove him into *Kent*, and there lay him out fairly in the Sunshine of a good Benefice, and see how soon he peels and sheds his Coat, and turns Layman; Was it thus with the Apostle, when he remov'd from *Crete* to *Corinth*, and so to *Rome*? or when any of the Bishops travell'd into foreign Countries, did they at their first Landing, find a new Packet of Orders just drop'd from the Clouds, or hung up in a Brass Tablet upon the next great Oak,

Chap. X. like a Challenge in a Romance? 'Tis true should an *English* Bishop ordain, for instance, a *Bantamite*, he does not make him a Peer of *Bantam*, or a Judge in their Courts, or a Castle-keeper: but yet he makes him a Bishop of *Bantam*, and if he should take a Trip to *Japan*, the Orders would keep him Company, and be as inseparable, as *Church* and *Chancel*.

P. Then I suppose, you take the Church to be one Body under one Head.

T. Oh! That's the *Catholick* Church, and the Use of it is to supply the several Parts, with Orders, Bishops, Scriptures, or other such Materials, if there be any that want 'um.

P. And why is there not a *Catholick* Kingdom as well as a *Catholick* Church, since all States and Kingdoms are also under *Christ*, as their temporal King and Head?

T. So there is, and like the Church, tho' it be divided into Parts, yet does it not supply those Parts with Successions, Alliances, &c. whenever they want 'um, by Vertue of that common Bond of Unity, the Law of Nations? And because *Christ* visibly governs this universal Monarchy, by his Providence, as he does the Church by his Grace, therefore he has no need of the *Pope* for his Deputy in the one, or the *French* King in the other.

P. Prither, *Tim!* Answer me: was the Government of the Church, given at first to any one of the Apostles, exclusive of all others?

T. I'll tell you, what that Government was, and how it was given: The Government was only a Power to propagate the Gospel, and by Ordination, to propagate Ministers of the Gospel, and this in any Part of the World as they

they saw best, or as the States and Powers of *Chap. X.*
the World were willing to receive it; This
Power was indeed Independent, and could not
be taken from 'um: but then there was no Di-
vine Institution or Induction to *Milan*, or
Rome, or *Canterbury*, no evangelical Court of
Arches, no Independent *Peerage*, and there-
fore those Powers, who gave 'um these
Rights, will take Care to make 'um account-
table both to them and to one another; how
you will help all this, I know not, unless you
would have had the Gospel rais'd a standing
Army for every Bishop, or provided him
with a sufficient *Guard du Corps*.

P. Then you are not of Opinion, *Tim*,
that the Government of the Church is in *Syn-*
nods and *Councils*?

T. And yet that's a good Way of managing
Matters as can be, and much like *Parliaments*
in the State.

P. Why then does not a general Council
meet ever now and then to settle the Church?

T. Those that have met already, have set-
tled it so well, that if we would stand by their
Methods, we should scarce do amiss: however,
during the Recess, there are National Synods
to go on with the Business in the mean Time.

P. To me now there never was a general
Council, since 'tis notorious that even at *Nice*
there were but *three hundred* Bishops or there-
abouts, whereas *St. Austin* reckons nine hun-
dred in *Africk* only.

T. Why really, if there were so many E-
piscopal Churches, how will you do to *Poll* pre-
cedents in Favour of any other Form? But
now, you must know, these general Councils,

Chap. X. are very strange things, and much like our Parliaments here at Home: where tho' whole Counties and Shires are expected to be present, yet if they do but send *two* for *two thousand*, it shall stand good in Spite of *Algebra*; and after the same Manner, if a Church has a Mind to go to a *General Council*, 'tis but getting apick apack upon one or two of the ablest Bishops, and it travels away to *Nice* or *Constantinople*, like our *Lady's Chappel* at *Loretto*.

P. Nay, *Tim*! I like this way well enough, for the more they are, the more likely to be in the Wrong.

T. Why so now? Why *that* upon my Lords the Bishops? When you were settling your Notion of Anarchy, *then* the Majority was the Law, the Truth, and I know not what: why is a Civil Majority more infallible than an Ecclesiastical? Or is it your Opinion that Bishops have a more particular Talent at being in the Wrong than other People?

P. No Matter for that, *Tim*: however those Councils met by Vertue of the secular Power, and by their secular Power were all their Laws Canons and Decrees to be confirm'd.

T. And yet their Right might be Divine for all that; tho' they could not exercise it without leave of the State: A *Natural Right*, you know, sometimes passes for a Divine Right, and a Man may have a Natural Right, to his *Estate*, his *Wife*, his *Trade*, his *Goods* and *Chattels*, and yet he shall neither have, hold, occupy, or enjoy, but under such Covenants and Conditions as the State pleases.

P. But how senseless is it to have recourse to the Authority of former Councils, since e-

ven

ven the Divine Law does not depend upon God's having enacted it formerly, but because it is his Will it should bind at present?

T. But now seeing this same Law of God is the same that it was in those Days, and for all that we see, is like to continue a little longer: why should not the first and purest Interpretation take place? Unless you are of Opinion, that tho' the Law be the same, yet 'tis expedient we should ever now and then alter the Explanation, like the Honest Sergeant, that gave one thing for Law one Term, and just the contrary another, and then put it off with the Proverb, *the Older, the Wiser*: However, he stuck fast to your Grand Rule, and was no doubt, an exact Observer of *present Circumstances*.

P. If Provincial and National Synods differ, who shall decide the Quarrel? Does not this make a *Popedom* necessary?

T. If Provincial Synods differ, the National Synod shall decide that Quarrel, for no Provincial Synod is equal to a National, nor any National Synod to a general Council: and in all such Ecclesiastical Contentions that cannot otherwise be compos'd, the secular Power always interpos'd, tho' not to decide the Point in Debate unless it concern'd the State, yet to stop the Increase of Differences in the Church, and prevent the ill Consequences of an open Rupture: So that in all this Bustle, I do not see there's any Room for a *Pope* yet.

P. But who shall suppress Heresies in the Catholick Church?

T. Why the Catholick Church shall suppress, 'em and we believe in the Catholick Church, but not a Word of the *Pope* for all that.

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P. But if there be any Reason for uniting a Diocess under one Bishop, and a Province under an Archbishop, will there not be as much Reason to unite all Provinces under one Head?

T. True, and such a Head there is, but not at *Rome*, and this Head is *Infalible*, and *Omnipotent*, and *Omnipresent*, and has no need of a Vicar, because he can act as visibly and as powerfully, and in as many Places at once, as the nimblest *Pope* in all *Platina*.

P. And is this he, to whom all Nations, upon their turning Christians, become Subject? And to whom it belongs to invest his Deputies with Ecclesiastical Power?

T. The very same *Phil*, I find you begin to turn *Christian*: Now, this visible Head, having with a Pair of visible Lips, ordain'd a Sett of visible Men, to ordain other visible Men, and these others again, and so on to the End of the *Chapter*: And we having at this very present writing a good Quantity of *visible* Folks, so ordain'd, and not seeing any likelihood, when we shall be without 'um: therefore, till that happens, we have no Occasion to desire the visible Head to come down again, and begin all with a new visible Ordination; and tho' there is an officious Gentleman at *Rome*, who undertakes to do this and a great many strange Things for him besides, yet we desire him at present to be easy and keep his Temper, we have no Occasion for him, and so long as our Communication with the principa^r supream Head of all, is open and free, 'tis a very indifferent Matter to us whether we have any Correspondence with his pretended Vicegerent.

P. Pri-

P. Prithee, *Tim*, tell me, has he who converteth a Nation, any Right thereupon to govern that Nation in Ecclesiastical Matters? Or may the State chuse what Bishops they please, provided they have Hands lay'd on 'um by other Bishops?

T. Why really, *Phil*, I see no Harm in holding the Last of these Notions, and yet I know there's some scurvy Plot at the Bottom on't.

P. Nay then 'tis plain, *Tim*, the Imposition of Hands is only a Qualification, like the Unction of our Kings: so that the full Power of Ordination still depends upon the People or State.

T. There, Sir, I beg your Pardon: the Unction of our Kings is a meer Ceremony, it adds nothing of Regal Power, for the Person anointed was a compleat King before the Unction: but it is not so with the Bishop, tho' he get his *Conge*, and is fully elected, yet he is not a compleat Bishop, *Non habet Potestatem ordinis*, say our Law-books: 'Tis Consecration that makes a Bishop of the Catholick Church, this in General gives him Power to preach and ordain, but he must have a *Conge*, must be elected, and invested, in Order to be a Bishop of the Church of *England*, or of any of her Sees and Dioceses: the first Qualification is Divine and Catholick, the last Human and Local: if indeed the *Conge* and *Election* were chiefly requisite, then 'tis evident the Apostles were no Bishops, because they never had that one thing necessary.

P. But do not the Bishops, in Consecrating, act Ministerially? They are under the Penalty of a *Premunire*, to confirm and consecrate as the

Chap. X.

the State directs: Now if it be their Right to make Bishops, why have they not the Choice of the Persons?

17. There's no Reason for that, *Phil*, since a Bishop has so much temporal Power annex'd to his Office, and is a Ruler in the State as well as in the Church, 'tis but Justice that one should have a Share in the making of him, as well as another; 'Tis true the Bishops do act Ministerially, in ordaining a Bishop they oblige the Church, and they oblige their Governors in consecrating such a one as the State designs to favour with Peerage, Jurisdiction, a See, and a good Settlement: So that they serve two at once, for the Gospel is indifferent as to Persons, provided they have the general Qualifications of Learning and Piety, and since the State has publickly profess'd the Christian Faith, and demands Bishops for such and such Parts of the Nation, they, who are already of that Order, would be high Offenders against Christ and his Kingdom, should they deny the Communication of their Orders to those the State thinks good Subjects; The Church's Security is that the State confines it self to the *Presbyters* of the same Church, and the State ought to have as good Security, that no disaffected Peer, or Judge, shall be impos'd upon the Publick; If Consecration were only a Ceremony, why then does the State so solemnly renounce it? Had the State the Intire making of a Bishop, could they consecrate as well as nominate, that would be the same thing as to say, that a Power purely Human could confer the Episcopal Office, which is purely Divine: Had the Bishops the Intire

Power

Power of making a Bishop, could they nominate as well as consecrate, that would be the same thing as to say, that a Power purely Divine could confer Peerage, and Jurisdiction, which are purely Human; Whoever pleads for either of these Innovations, means to strip the Supremacy of its Power, or the Bishops of their Temporalities, or to confound 'em with one another, and ought therefore in Justice to be made sensible of the Indignation of both.

P. No Bishop, *Tim*, can give another any Power out of his own District, much less a Power over other Bishops, by consecrating him a *Patriarch* or *Archbishop*.

T. *Archbishops* and *Patriarchs* have no Power over other Bishops, but what is Human, the Gospel makes no such Distinction: However, such a Subordination is very necessary in Monarchical Governments, and stands ratify'd by many Precedents of the Primitive Church: so that properly speaking no one is consecrated Archbishop, for if that were a distinct Order, no Bishop could be concern'd in the Ceremony, since being only a Bishop he could not communicate such a Power to another as he never had himself; But why I pray you, can a Bishop give another Bishop no Power but in his own Diocess? Put Case, the Archbishop and Bishops of *London* and *Rochester* were to consecrate a Bishop of *St. Asaph*, and this Ceremony should be perform'd in the Diocess of *London*, will such a Consecration give him no Power in *St. Asaph*? At this rate, there ought to be *Seconds* to every Diocess, a Custom that Mr. *Dodwell* so much

Chap. X. much complains of; When a Bishop preaches at *Pauls* or *Bow*, is he specially ordain'd thereto by My Lord of *London*? When the Apostles and Bishops travell'd into far Countries to settle Churches, and communicated the Power of ordaining Bishops and Ministers, had they this Power from any of the Heathen Diocesans? Had St. *James* his Orders from *Caiaphas*? Or St. *Peter* his from the *Pontifex Maximus*, or from the *Flamens* and *Augurs*, at *Rome*? or St. *Paul* at *Ephesus* from the Priests of *Diana*? In short, Episcopacy must cease if the Bishop of one Diocess could not ordain a Bishop for another, for there being but one at a Time, and he, as you observe, not empower'd to nominate another by will, when he comes to die, who shall be proxy for him to ordain his Successor?

P. Prithee, *Tim*, in Case of a *Lapse*, what becomes of the Power of a deceased Bishop, and who disposes of it? Does it not descend to the Magistrate who collates afresh?

T. When a Bishop dies, *Phil*, he dies only in a temporal Sense, and he leaves nothing to be dispos'd of but mere temporals: His Body goes to the Earth, and that's Temporal: His Goods and Chattels to his Heirs and Executors, and they are Temporal: but all that's purely Spiritual, besides his Soul, is his Episcopacy, which if in his Life time he communicated to any other, ~~that~~ does not die with him, neither is it at the Magistrates disposal; The Magistrate may nominate a Successor in his See, but the Successor of his Orders is to be appointed by some other Person of the same Episcopal Function; In fine, *Phil*, you may

may bandy this Question up and down as you Chap. IX please, but it turns upon this, that a Bishop consists of *two* Parts, a *Temporal* and a *Spiritual*: 'tis much such another Story as that of the Nature of Man, who consists of two Parts, of just the same Denomination; Now in this latter Case, *Atheists* will muster up a few Arguments to confound those two Parts, and pretend, that they have had as yet no instance or experiment of any State, wherein they subsisted asunder: but the Temporalities and Spiritualities of a Bishop are much more notoriously Distinct, for they were known to have liv'd separate above *three hundred Years* together.

P. Ah! *Tim*, thou dost not see whither these things lead: for whatever some of our Churchmen may pretend, yet 'tis notorious that most of the old *Romish* Tenets are still kept up, to the great Scandal of the *Reformation*.

T. But then observe, *Phil*, that Fancy and Imagination are as much concern'd in drawing Parallels and Similitudes, as in drawing Pictures and Landskips: and accordingly all such things are intirely submitted to the Humour of the Reader and Spectator, whether they will allow 'um to be pat and well-match'd, or horrid and disagreeable: But whenever the Fancy happens to be vitiated and corrupted, or to be prejudic'd and prepossess'd, Men are apt to imagine Things and Forms, that never were, nor are like to be: to raise Devils and Hobgodlins, Fairies, and Satyrs, that none can see but themselves, and like Drunkards and Persons half awake,
every

Chap. X. every one Spirits up a Ghost to play with, and sees Bears Claws and Lions Faces on the Ceiling and Bed's-Tester; So that if a Man does but heartily resolve to have such a thing like such a thing, he may soon dispose his Fancy to create what's wanting to the Comparison, and to make such sensible Suppositions as will render the Parallel compleat; The forward Gossip that took the Cat in the Cradle for the Infant, protested that it had *Dad's* Nose exactly, and was as like him as if it had been spit out of his Mouth, and all this by the Diet of pure fresh and fasting Imagination, even before the comfortable Assistance of the Spicebowl and Brandy-bottle; Now, *Phil*, I would not have you think, I tell you this, to discourage you from any arch Attempts or witty Similitudes, but only by Way of Caution, and that you may come off cleverly, especially in this Business between the Churches of Rome and England, for I can assure you, the *Similitude-mongers* have been at Work already, and they have hitherto made but a sorry Hand on't: Some Years ago, old *Obadiah* and his Friends undertook to prove, that the Church of England was not only like the Church of Rome, but exactly one and the same; 'Twas to no purpose for her to declare against *Transubstantiation*, *Purgatory*, &c. They were resolv'd she should hold all these things, whether she would or no, and besides too, that she spake in an unknown Tongue,—*Our Father*—being, it seems, *Latin* for *Pater Noster*; After these, the Dissenters took up the Trade: and they were for comparing us with the *Old One* of All himself, for whom they had

so

so great an Esteem, that they made him almost like the very Person he pretends to represent: ^{Chap. X.} Whatever they set sight on, ^{Jupiter est Quodcunque.} was he: The *Simplic* has some of his Features: The *Pudding-sleeve-gown* too resembled him: But then the *Organ* and *Maypole* were his very Image and Supercription, and the *Sceptre-house* was as like him as ever it could stare: Thus, the *Northern* Way of forming Similitudes look'd altogether as awkward as the *Oriental*: Now, *Phil*, there's no Reason you should play the Fool for Company: You know in what a Multitude of Features the two Churches agree: Can't you go and draw the Parallel by them? Can't you accuse the Church of England of Popery, for believing the *Moral Law* and *Ten Commandments*? But if instead of that, you should go and say that the Church of England has a round *Round Nose*, when perhaps 'tis sharp and turn'd up at top like a *Tenterhook*, or that 'tis like the Tower of *Libanus*, looking towards *Damascus*, when perhaps 'tis as Strait as any of the Cedars near that same Tower: Or that her Lips are *Austrian*, when they are only pouting and pretty: Or that she has a *Triple Crown*, when all the while it may be her Forehead's *low*: This will make People imagine, that whilst you talk of other Folks scandalizing the *Reformation*, you your self are bringing a little Scandal upon your own understanding: and when you are in the Midst of your Comparisons, they'll cry out — as the *Whell-barrow* goes, to rumble! to rumble! Even so, — Or perhaps draw down one of *Solomon's* Proverbial Similitudes upon you, and say, *A Whip for the* ^{1 Prov. 26.}

Horse, 3.

Chap. X. *Horse, A Bridle for the Ass, and a Rod for the Fools Back.*

P. Never fear, Tim! I'll make no Comparisons but what are just and to the Purpose. As for instance, is not the Protestant Clergy's pretending their Orders to be *Jure Divino*, Independent, and Unalterable by the Secular Power, the same thing with the *Papists* wholly exempting the Priest from the Magistrate's Jurisdiction? In Deprivation of Life, is included Deprivation of Office, and if the Magistrate cannot deprive of the Office, he cannot punish a Priest for any Secular Crime whatever.

See Oates
and Ste-
phens's Case

T. Why so? Is there no secular Punishment but hanging, drawing and quartering? May not a Person, if he deserves it be handsomely flogg'd or set in the Pillory? Are not these secular Punishments? And yet Deprivation of Orders is not included in Deprivation of Ears, or Devastation of Entrails; Now, the Church of *Rome* says, let the Priest steal, ravish, or commit murder, the Magistrate shan't meddle with him, the Church of *England* says, he shall, a rare Harmony that! Wonderful Agreement! Admirable Similitude; Like to like, put the Devil in a Milk-pail! The Church of *Rome* says, the Magistrate can't deprive the Priests of his Orders, no not by depriving him of his Life, the Church of *England* says, the Magistrate can't deprive the Priest of his Orders, but only, (now keep your Eye close) by depriving him of his Life: One's the Rule, and t'other the Exception, as that incomparable Author has it,

No sit vi, ut Sino Sivi, Temno (excipe) Temsi.

P. Then

P. Then the Church of England's condemning Schismatics, is it not the same Thing with the Papist's confining Salvation to their own Pale? And yet there's less Difference between the Church of England and the Protestant Dissenters, than between Papist and Protestant.

T. The Church of Rome, Phil, damns all but themselves, the Indian, Chinese, Abassin, and Tartar, some of whom, poor Souls! must go to the Devil, only for living five or six hundred Miles off, and because they never had the Happiness to be acquainted with Mr. Pope, whose misfortune it is that he is not Omnipresent, as well as Infallible: Now all this is very hard upon those People, and the Church of England is apt to take their Parts, and to think better of 'um than so, and that in all Probability, if they liv'd nearer, they would be much better Neighbours: but what Opinion must she have of those, who live next door to her, who know her visiting Days, her good Character and Vertues, and the Excellencies of her Teatable, and yet slight her Company, lampoon her publickly without Cause, and resort to Puppet-shows and Bartholomew Booths? What Hopes can she have of such? and the more Groundless their Suspensions are, the more Criminal: He who breaks Company for a Trifle, must be very near a Brute: and he who mutinies for nothing, or raises a Quarrel and disturbs People for things little and indifferent, because this Man's Cravat is not ty'd to his Humour, or the other Man makes a wrong Leg, or bows more than half

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Way

Chap. X.

Way, most certainly deserves to be kick'd out of Company, and never to be admitted upon any Occasion whatever.

P. There is that memorable Article of the Church of Rome, that no Faith is to be kept with Hereticks, is it not just what some Protestants assert, that the Magistrate tho' under never so many Oaths and Obligations to spare 'um, yet, by a superior Obligation from Christ, is bound to break 'um all, and turn Tyrant? And if Heresy makes Men forfeit their Right to Life, why not to Truth? If Children and Fools may be deceiv'd for the Sake of their Health, why not for the Sake of their Souls? And accordingly Mr. Chillingworth avers, that Protestants as well as Papists, endeavour to support their Cause with gross Falsifications and Calumnies: For which Reason too, the Judicious Daille supposes, the Authority of the Fathers to be such, as we ought not much to rely on.

T. I profess, Phil, you match Cases as aptly as you did Articles: If a Man makes a rash Vow contrary to a higher and prior Obligation, such a Vow is not to be kept, as our English Casuists decide it: Is this now the very same Case, with not keeping Faith with Hereticks? I'll swear I want a Multitude of Metaphors to make out the Parallel; Is burning an Atheistical Book, silencing a Prophet, or hanging a Highwayman (all notorious Hereticks!) not keeping Faith with 'um? Do you know any of your Neighbours that are in League with such People? Alas, the Ingrateful and Perfidious Age!

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I'll vow, *Phil*, you set a great Price upon Hereticks, when you will oblige the Magistrate to be faithful to them rather than to their Maker; And your Notion of forfeiting a Right to Truth, is very odd methinks: I would know, when that Case happens? Is not Truth more precious than Life, and mayn't a Man make the less Forfeit without making the Greater? If any one may properly be said to forfeit a Right to truth, 'tis he who tells a Lye, and if he does it to a Heretick, that Heretick may, by this Rule, lye to him again: But then, there's no lying nor deceiving a Heretick without being guilty of as bad a Crime, for Lying and Heresy are the same Thing. As to Children and Fools (which brings the Case home to your self) they are famous for speaking Truth, and there you are pleas'd to differ from 'um, so that, 'tis pity, but they should be serv'd in their Kind; 'Tis true we do now and then deceive 'um for their Health's Sake, and the Reason of it is, because the *Pill* works never the worse, tho' the Patient was perswaded 'twas a *Sugar-plumb*: but 'tis otherwise with the *Phylick* of the Soul: That is *Truth*, and no deceit ought to be mixt with it: The Understanding must assist in the Operation, as well as the Will, and every Man must know what he does to be a Vertue, or it can never be so to him, and how can he certainly know it to be a Vertue, if there be deceit in the Matter? Surely, none but Children and Fools ever talk'd or thought so! What Ca-

lummies and Falsifications have been made use of to maintain the *Protestant* Cause, I know not: I dare affirm, they that made use of 'um, were either not real *Protestants*, or very indiscreet ones, since they made use of that, which the Cause has no Occasion of, and which will do no Cause any good; I know very well the *Protestant* Religion will make no Man infallible: You may put the *Four Evangelists* altogether, and yet he that has his *Hands* and his *Mouth* full of 'um, shall be still subject to Error, and now and then a *Fib*, and sometimes a *Rapper* shall slip out o' Course: but there's a great deal of Difference between a failing of this Nature, and maintaining Lies to be Orthodox, as the *Papists* do; The *Fathers* Good Men! Were subject to this common Infirmary, and so was your Judicious *Dailée*: He has err'd in some things most notoriously, and yet he would think it hard, not to be believ'd in any thing: For tho' all of us are lyable to mistakes, yet, *some* *Wiser* than *some*, says the Judicious *Sancha*.

P. Again, *Tim*! There's no Reason, why *Protestants* should not undertake to depose Kings, as well as *Papists*, if those Kings are Hereticks: since the Church is to have every thing necessary to its Welfare and Support, and being a Divine System, the Human must of Course give place to it: and if Men may forfeit their Property by Heresy, why not Kings their Government?

T. Nay, *Phil*! If you'll go and advance a Notion, that Kings may be censur'd, judg'd, condemn'd, depos'd, and executed by

by the People, and call your self a *Protestant*, and the People a *Protestant* People for believing all this, and give out, that you only dissent from Popery, because 'tis the Support of Absolute Power, shall not the *Protestant* Clergy, who are a Part of the *Protestant* People, have a Share in this same *Protestant* Notion, as well as the Rest of their Neighbours? Do you not write for the Use and Benefit of the *Protestant* Church in General? But now, I can satisfy you, that the Clergy have so little Confidence in you or your Arguments, that they not only acknowledge the Right of the Crown to be Divine as well as theirs, but Superior to theirs by a Divine Priority, so that theirs must yield and give place to it: and besides, they are of Opinion, as far as I can hear, that tho' it should be granted, that private Persons may forfeit their Properties by Treason, Heresy, or otherwise, yet, notwithstanding your shrewd Consequence, there is some Difference between private Persons and Kings: Tho', I fancy, 'twould be well with us all, if that same Maxim of yours were to take place, viz. *That every one was to have every thing Necessary to his Support and Well-being, since thereupon, we might all be intitled to five or six hundred a Year, a Brace of Geldings, and Beef and Pudding every Day for Dinner: Then, the World would quickly come to a fine Pass, and we should have no need of Humility, Patience, Forbearance, and Long-suffering, Virtues made purely for Cases*



of Necessity, especially when a Man has to deal with *Fools* and *Fanatics*.

P. If the *English* Clergy pretend to a Judicial Power of Absolution; why may they not, like the *Papists*, inquire into the Aggravations and Particulars of every Crime?

T. But it so happens, that the Clergy do not pretend to a Judicial Absolution, but only to a solemn Declaring of the Peace of the Church; as to private Confessions, they are left at Discretion: however we advise our People, that in Case of Ignorance or Perplexity, they would consult their Parson, as they would their Lawyer on a Doubtful Title; But now, the Church of *Rome* lays it down for Orthodox, that if a Man before his Death does not confess to the Priest all his Sins, and all their Circumstances, provided a Priest can be had for Love or Money, he is certainly damn'd: What Mortal that ever made Similitude, but sees as much Difference between these two, as between a Saint and a Seditious.

P. If the Clergy, *Tim!* Pretend to deliver Men over to Eternal Damnation, or to save 'em from it, why may they not undertake to deliver from *Purgatory*, since that's a less Power than t'other?

T. Now it seems to me to be I can't tell how much greater; For certainly to deliver Men out of a State they never were in, or really to open and shut either of the two Gates in the sixth *Aeneids* of *Virgil*, or the great folding Doors in *Ovid*, is much harder than to dispose of Places in two Regions, of whose existence we are certain tho' we

can't

can't tell their Longitude and Latitude: and Chap. X
therefore that same Maxim of yours, that
the Greater includes the Less, won't do in
Divinity; since by that Rule, every good
Christian ought immediately to turn *Pleasure*,
and because he adores the great God of all;
a few of the *Div. Minors* ought to come in o'
Course, and share in the Honour.

P. What dost thou think, *Tim*, of the
Papists Consecrating Beads, Water, and Re-
licks? Do not the *Protestants* as bad in
Consecrating Churches? For I suppose they
allow 'um more than a Relative Holiness;
Or is there a Real tho' an inconceivable
Presence in Churches? For which Reason
perhaps our Clergy bow to the *East*, and
by which the Superstitious Notions of the
Sacrament were introduc'd, whereby Men
are empow'd by a certain Charm of Words
to make a real Change in the Elements.

T. Lookye, *Phil*, I do not call to mind
any one Person, or Thing, or Creature upon
Earth, that ever pretended to any other
fort of Holiness, than what was purely *Rela-*
tive; And I can tell you of a much nicer
Trick, than that you are talking of. What
think you of an Altar's consecrating a ^{n Mat. 23.}
Gift? And yet you have a very great Per- 18.
son's Word for it: Now, if the Altar con-
secrated the Gift, some Body must conse-
crate the Altar; and who that should be,
you, who deny all Consecration, need not
be much concern'd to determine; We set
Houses apart for *Malting*, for *Brewing*, for
Dancing, and for *Courts of Justice*, must we
have none for Religion? Is that so inconfide-
rable?

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rable? If Men can dedicate a *Tobacco-box*, to
 the Memory of a Friend, or hold a *Silver*
Spoon in Veneration, for the Sake of a Re-
 lation, shall we scruple the Best and Great-
 est of Friends the Use of one of the worst
 Rooms in his Parish, when 'tis for our own
 Interest and Conveniency too? As to his in-
 conceivable Presence, for my Part, I know
 of no Presence that belongs to him, but what
 is so only this I know, that besides his
 Essential Presence, common to all Places,
 there is his Gracious Presence, which is
 confin'd and particular, and any Body may
 know as much, that has the least of the
Minor Prophets by him, to peruse at his
 leisure; If therefore our Clergy bow to him,
 they do well, since 'tis the most Common
 and most Civil English Way of worshipping
 God with the Body that I know of; And
 for bowing to the *East*, besides that this is
 a Favourite Part of the Globe, since 'tis re-
 quir'd for Order and Decency and Autho-
 rity's Sake that we should all bow one Way,
 why not I beseech to the *East*, as well as the
North or the *South*? I'm sure as our Adorati-
 ons differ from the *Popish*, so do our Conse-
 crations: For no one *Protestant* believes,
 that the Church is Holy enough to conse-
 crate Hypocrisy, that the Toll of the Bell
 will scare Hereticks, or a Brickbat from
 the Wall kill a Devil: The Altar cannot
 of it self turn a Trimmer into a Saint,
 nor the Pulpit a Dunce into a Divine, where-
 as, the *Popish* Trumpery can do Wonders,
 their Churches can ride Post and Out-tra-
 vel the Nimblest of their Pilgrims, and the
 rest

rest of their Rubbish and Relicks, take 'um Chap. X.
 one with another, and as they value 'um, are
 better than ours, by at least Twelve Pence
 in the Dozen; 'Tis true as you observe, the
 Change wrought in the Sacramental Elements,
 is done by a Charm of Words. *The Bread* 1 Cor. 10.
that we brake is it not, &c.—are very charm- 16. 1. 100 1
 ing Words Indeed, let me see you, who are
 pleas'd to call this *Conjuratiō*, summon all
 your Infernal Acquaintance together, and
 then try, if their terrible Titles can work
 any such Wonders.

P. Then for *Transubstantiation*, how many
 of the Clergy believe the real Presence? So
 that the Dispute is only about the *Modus*:
 and is not the Church of England's *Modus* as
 Questionable as the *Papists*? If it be not
Consub, must it not be *Transub*, either with
 the Elements together, or by taking the
 Elements Place? For as to the Spiritual Pre-
 sence of a Body, that's inconceivable: since he
 who eats, eats Bread, and acknowledges the
 Body to be at the same Time in Heaven.

T. Here now is another of your Simili-
 tudes, our real Presence by Faith and in a
 Spiritual Manner, must be compar'd with the
Papists *Transubstantiation*, tho' their Tran-
 substantiation is *Nonsense*, and our real Pre-
 sence only a Mystery: Theirs is a *Contradi-*
ction, ours only *Inconceivable*: Theirs is a-
 gainst Sense, ours above it; It is past the
 Power of the God they make, to account
 for his own Subsistence, but 'tis easy for
 a Protestant to eat a Body spiritually, not
 with his Teeth, but by that Faith, which remo-
 veth Mountains, which maketh Weakness out
 of

Chap. X. of Strength, which is the Evidence of Things
 not felt nor hand'd; as well as of Things not

1 I Cor. 5. seen; P St. Paul had a Spiritual Presence, why
 3. should not his Lord and Master? The Na-

tural Body is only present Naturally, and
 after the Manner of a Body, but a Spirit-

1 I Cor. 13. 41. tual Body (and such there is) may no
 doubt be spiritually Present: This is the

Manner of our real Presence, and so far
 it agrees with Scripture; but were I a
 Zwinglian, or a Sacramentarian, I should be
 worse puzl'd about the *Modus* of the Con-
 secration, than I am now about the Presence,
 and should be horridly at a loss to know
 whose Guest I was, whether the Farmers,
 the Millers, the Bakers, or the Parsons,
 which of the Four made the Feast, and to
 whom I ought to return Thanks:

P. How do the Protestants insult the Church
 of Rome, for relying so much upon Tradi-
 tion? And yet at the same Time they fol-
 low the Fathers and first Writers of the
 Church, notwithstanding their great Errors.
 Their maintaining Prayers for the Dead,
 Relicks, &c. And tho' they profess to im-
 pose no Article of Faith, but what is prov'd
 from Scripture, yet they teach that Bishops
 as a distinct Order, are absolutely necessary
 to the Being of a Church.

T. And is this an Article of Faith? Or if
 it were, may it not be prov'd from Scrip-
 ture as expounded by Antiquity? Why else
 did you complain of the *Gretan* and *Ephesian*
 Model, and fall so very foul upon *Titus* and
 my *Namesake*? Or if it were not directly
 contain'd in Scripture, yet might it not
 flow

flow from thence by some very Natural Consequences; there being many things not mention'd in the Bible; absolutely necessary to the being of a Church, upon a Civil and Political Account, of which certainly the Form is one. And can there be a better Form than that which agrees so well with the State? If the Church of Rome has glean'd up all the Errors of Antiquity, and the Church of England has rejected them all, if we follow the Fathers, tho' liable to many and gross Errors, but do not follow them in those Errors, where is our Agreement in this Article of Tradition? I protest, Phil, your Oral Tradition is much like theirs, not only without Scripture, but without Sense.

P. Besides these, Tim, there are other Maxims, which if true, and yet they are such as our Protestant Clergy make use of, then tis plain our Separation from the Church of Rome is unjustifiable; as for instance, if the Clergy had their Power only from God, unless he would be pleas'd to take it away again, to disobey them, were the same thing as to disobey God himself: and if they are to admit and to turn out of the Church, this supposes they may judge of the Terms of Communion, which the Laity as they expect to be Christians must submit to.

T. Look ye, Phil, tho' our Ecclesiastical Governors may have a Divine Power, to rule us, to exclude, and to admit: yet there is also a Divine Law, and a Divine Sett of Terms, annex'd to their Commission, by which they are to rule, to admit, and to exclude: If they are for any other Law or any other Terms, these cannot be by Divine

Chap. X. Right, and they must ask our Leave whenever they put these upon us; There was a Time indeed, when such a Remonstrance as this would have been worth something: We bore much and long in those Days: but at last when we found our Governors still loading us with more burdens, such as their Divine Right did by no Means impower them to lay on their Subjects, and such as were contrary to the Will and Pleasure of him who commission'd them, we e'en left 'um and resorted to other Governors, who had the same Divine Right, without those Præter-divine Terms and Conditions: In effect, we did not change our *Landlords*, but only renew'd our *Lease* under fresh Covenants, and I'm sure that's justifiable in e'er a Court in Christendom.

P. We must all, *Tim*, be either govern'd by our own private Judgments, or by those of our Superiors: But now the Clergy say, that 'tis inconsistent with Peace and Unity, for the Subject to set up his private Opinion against the Church and its Councils, whose resolves Injunctions and Interpretations are always to be submitted to.

T. And 'twas for this very Reason, that the Opinion of our Church was suffer'd to lye a long Time in private Hands: We constantly dunn'd our Governors with the Reasons, and stood half a score fiery Trials to shew 'um we were in Earnest: till at last it

* See Baker came to a *Poll*, and mine *Author* says, that in the *Life* a full Body of nine thousand Parsons, not of *Q. Eliz.* above two hundred dissented: and then I think it became as Publick as the County Court could make it. P. Is

P. Is it not Part of the *Creed*, that you must believe in the Catholick Church? and is it not a Circular Argument to say, such Doctrines are true because the Catholick Church holds 'em, and this is the Catholick Church because it holds these Doctrines? and how do we believe in the Catholick Church, if yet notwithstanding we will judge of her Terms? Besides, the Church must be always Distinguishable by certain Marks, that Men may believe as she believes, and not be at a Loss to find her.

T. But observe, *Phil*, all Arguments are Good and Seasonable, according to the Wants of those People that require 'um; Does any one ask for Authority to prove such a Doctrine? That of the whole Church is certainly sufficient; But when the Doctrines of the Church are question'd, then we resort to Scripture; 'Tis true, we profess to believe in the Catholick Church, and just so we profess to be true and faithful to the Government, and no doubt a very high Measure of Submission is due to both: But if the Last be made consistent with private Property, why should not the First consist with private Judgment? And tho' all the Christian Churches in the World, which make the one Catholick Church, may err, yet there are some leading Articles in which they ever did and will agree, and which are the Marks by which the true Church is distinguish'd: and yet if a Man will be obstinately blind, he may grope till Doomsday, e'er he find her: tho' I must tell you 'tis not so much her want of Lustre, as your want of Eyes to discern it.

P. But

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W P. But where was this your Church before *Harry the Eighth*? If the Church did exist ever since our Saviour, this is a Demonstration that your Church can be no Church, since 'tis not of so long a standing; If the Church of *Rome* was the Catholick Church, how came you to dissent from it? For the Catholick Church cannot contain opposite Communion.

T. Prudence, Phil, do not ask me a Question, that has been ask'd and answer'd above a thousand Times before you were born; If you are a Stranger to the Dispute, How, in the Name of Impudence, came you to engage in it? I tell you, our Church is much Older than the *Romish* Church, for we did only restore it to that Primitive Purity, from which 'twas fallen by the Superstitions of *Papery*; 'Tis true indeed there is always a Church, but not always pure and perfect; and certainly, different Communion may be both Members of the Catholick Church, because 'tis the very Notion of the Catholick Church, to contain all the various Christian Communion in the whole World; and just so, two Men, one black and t'other Fair, one ugly and the other Handsome, one with one Leg and t'other with never a One, may be Men for all that, both of the *Species*, tho' neither of 'um whole or perfect.

P. What has more expos'd the *Protestant* Cause, than some of our Clergy's using the same Arguments against the *Papists*, which they themselves would not admit of from the *Dissenters*? When they talk'd with *Papists*, then they magnify'd private Judgment, but when

when with Dissenters, the Authority of the Church.

T. Nay, *Phil.* don't wrong the honest Fellows neither: they never magnify'd private Judgment, till it came to be publick; Besides, there was good Reason to oppose Conscience, in the Highest and most material Articles of Faith impos'd by Church Authority, against plain Reason and Scripture to the *Romish* Bishops, and as much Reason to oppose Church Authority to those, who Dispute for Trifles and Quarrel about nothing, but only whether they shall obey or no: Which is no more like Transubstantiation, or any of the *Popish* Trumpery, than your Similitudes are like one another.

P. Mr. *Chillingworth* observes, that the Essence of Protestantism consists in finding out the true Sense of Scripture, which effectually destroys all Pretensions to Church power.

T. And yet supposing Mr. *Chillingworth* in the Right, this to me seem a good Reason for establishing Church-power: because if, as Mr. *Chillingworth* explains himself, every private Man is to do his best Endeavour to find out the true Meaning of Scripture, why may not the publick Men join together to do so too? And when they have done their best Endeavour, is not this, think you, the very best Sense and Meaning of Scripture that can be had for Love or Money? In such a Case, the Cryer of the Court should have declar'd as loud as ever he could bawl, that if any private Person had any private Judgment to offer, he should stand forth and be heard, but for ever after hold his Tongue.

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P. 'Tis true, Mr. *Chillingworth* justifies the Separation from *Rome*, but then he does it by destroying all Church Authority: For he inveighs most strenuously against those, who put particular Meanings upon the general Words of God, who deify their own Tyrannous Interpretations, who dare presume they are infallible, and burn, and curse, and persecute their Brethren, for not subscribing to the Words of Men as the Words of God.

T. And on my Word Mr. *Chillingworth* is in the Right on't: only it does not happen to be much to your purpose: For what's all this to the Protestants? If the Papists interpret Wrong, we perhaps may mend it if any Body will be pleas'd to try us; If they impose the Words of Men by a Divine Authority, may not we inforce the Words of God by a Human?

P. But then you disclaim Infallibility, the only Reason of assuming such a Power.

T. How? What! Must we never give Judgment, but till we can get past the Power of being Mistaken? This is Highflying with a Witness: and makes Kings to be real Gods, and Mayors and Constables to be at least *Di Minores* or *Demi-Gods*.

P. Such a Power among Protestants, must make a Man alter his Opinion with the Climate: but this the Papists take care to avoid, by confining it only to the Catholick Church.

T. Ay, but then they say, *They* only are the Catholick Church: and with all their Powers and their Confinements, they meet with almost as many Dissenters as their Neighbours, and that within their own Pale:
only

only they have the Sense not to divide tho' they do differ; As for us, we own a Man may change his Ceremonies with the Climate, but not his Doctrines: and indeed 'tis to keep these Steady, that the other are so Precarious: for how could a Man own the Power of the Magistrate in Things indifferent, If he might not as well establish a Cloak at Geneva, as a Surplice in Great Britain?

P. Why did the Clergy endeavour to restrain the Press and Pulpit with all Free thinking, but upon that Popish Principle, that the People were to be forbid the Use of the Scripture?

T. Very fine that!—The Protestants and Papists are both alike, because the Papists wholly deny the Bible to the Laity, but the Protestants freely allow it: Can good Wits and great Projectors jump more nicely and exactly? We are glad, the People should use the Scripture; but won't let 'em Libel and Blaspheme it; If Men can't be contented to read the Bible to themselves, seriously and attentively, but expect to have *Licenses* and *Imprimaturs*, to burlesque it, or turn it into Travestie, they had much better believe in *Gargantua* or *Don Quixot*, or take *Scarron* and *Butler*, for their Apostles and Evangelists.

P. How can the Clergy condemn the Papists, for persecuting their Subjects on the Account of Heresy, when themselves would persecute others on the Account of Schism? Such Practices as these expose the Protestant Cause worse than the Popish, this is call'd the Depths, t'other the Shallows of Satan: These seem to be in Jest, the Papists in Earnest.

B B

T. Lookye;

T. Lookye, *Phil*, there's no judging of our Prosecutions and theirs, without running o'er all the Articles and answering every particular Charge: A Work, neither you nor I are qualify'd to undertake; Of the two Religions, I have made a Shift to chuse one already, and you are for neither: only, I must tell you, should a Man prosecute me for Debt upon Bond or Bill, tho' I ow'd him ne'er a Penny, yet I should go to council, plead, reply, and stand tryal with him: but should a troublesome Fellow contend with me for wearing scarlet Stockings, or plush Breeches, or for the *smart* Pinch, or *Ramelly* Cock, this I think would deserve a Cudgel rather than a Rejoinder: and I fancy the Magistrate would be apt to think so too; In short, the persecuted Protestants seem to be in Earnest, and contend for something: but our Schismatics, persecuted or not persecuted contend for Trifles: They rail at Persecution, because they can't stand it: These, as you say, are truly the Shallows of Satan, Furious, Rapid, and Noisy: and indeed we always found 'um to be in Jest when they argu'd, but when once they got uppermost, then to our Cost they soon prov'd to be in Earnest; What can be more impertinent, than for you, *Phil*, to compare the *Remish* Church and the *Protestants*, because they have both of 'um publick Judges and Officers and Laws to punish Offenders? This only puts us upon enquiring wherein those Judges and Laws differ, and then your Meaning is, only in General to put the Question, which is the best Religion, the *Papish* or the *Protestant*? And certainly you who make it a Question,

Question, must be sharp set upon Controversy; Why did you compare the Protestant Church only to the Popish Church upon this Account, when you might as well have compar'd it upon the very same Account to the Churches of *Bantam*, *China*, and *Morocco*, who have their Judges and Laws as well as we? But if you can find a Church in the World, where this strange and unaccountable Custom does not prevail, we'll give you free Leave to be of that, provided you'll in return give us as free a Toleration to be of some other.

P. Well, *Tim*, The Work is pretty well over: thou hast now nothing left, but to say two or three Words to the Author.

T. And what would you have Folks say to him, when they do not so much as know the Man? All that can be said in this Case is, what's usually publish'd in News-papers, when great Men, Secretaries of State, and such like, receive Letters from unknown Hands, *If you'll appear, and make out what you propose, you shall receive all fitting Protection and Encouragement*; You see the World has been very kind to your Book, it has born *four* or *five* Editions: Who knows, but when the Author comes to Light, he too, for his Pains, may have at least two or three Places, I will not say in the *Court* or *Westminster-hall*, but hard by perhaps, or very near it? I would therefore by all Means advise you, when the next *Edition* comes out (for the Book's bad enough, to bear two or three *Editions* more) to affix your *Phys* and Name to the *Frontispiece*, whether Handsome or Ugly, Fat or Lean,

Chap. X. you need not Fear but you'll be star'd at sufficiently: and if you'll leave space enough upon the *Base*, or round about the *Cornish*, we'll subscribe your Titles at large, *Christianismi Propugnator*, *Eversor Biblistarum*, *Torunculorum Eviscerator*—and in short, no Honour shall be too much for you: I do not say, we'll exalt you to the third Heav'n, but exalted no doubt you will be, and that too perhaps above all your Fellows; Only don't distrust your Old Friends, and question our Sincerity: For I find in the three last Pages of your Book, you grow horribly Modest and Suspicious, and run up and down from Christian to Protestant, from Parson to Layman, to see who'd take to you and protect you, like a Dog that has thrown down a Dish, and sculks about with his Tail between his Legs, to find the first piteous Patron, that will look kindly on him, and keep him in Countenance.

P. But can any Body blame me, as Man, for defending the Natural Rights of Mankind?

T. Ay, and for those generous Maxims, *That all things are to go by Majority and Force: That Men may be Slaves for Interest, or where there is an Estate in View: That no Person is to assist his Neighbour at the Hazzard of his own Life or Goods: That Men are Subject to all those Governments that protect them, that is, that do not knock them on the Head:* These are such rare Doctrines, as one would think should lure the whole Country after you; Then your Notion of *Primitive Equality* must needs please the better Sort, and as for the Mob, they must certainly hug you again, for calling them

them from the Mattock and Shovel, the lea-
thern Bottle and Wallet, to a Share with the
Squire, or a Handsome Scramble for the Par-
sonage; but the Devil on't will be, when
they find you can't protect 'um from the
Sheriff, nor show 'um in what Court to sue
for their Dividend: then, like their Predeces-
sors of blessed Memory, they'll desire to re-
turn to their Garlick and Onions, their Brick-
burning and Task-masters, and beg leave to
dye, as they were born, in a Ditch, cursing
all the while their Captain Adventurer, for
leading them into a Wilderness, where no-
thing grows but pure uncultivated Nature,
without either Meat or Miracles.

P. Can any one blame me, as a Christian,
for striking at the Root of Antichristian
Priestcraft?

T. Ay, and at Branch too, and with such
an effectual Blow, as has effectually levell'd
and beat down, not only Antichristian Priest-
craft, but all Priestcraft, Priesthood, and Re-
ligion whatever, for fear it should ever be
Antichristian again; those good Christians
who value their Faith less than their Tythes,
will thank you no doubt: but when they find,
they can't help themselves notwithstanding
your Project, they'll renounce you and the
Exchequer, and take to Christianity again
very kindly.

P. Then for all Protestants, I shall certain-
ly have them on my Side, for reviving those
almost forgotten Notions on which the *Refor-*
mation was founded, and for endeavouring to
unite all Christians, and to allay those Heats
and Divisions, that are amongst us.

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T. Nay Prithee, *Phil*, don't speak quite so modestly of your own Notions, which are all pure Invention and Discovery: Don't say they were almost forgotten, for I can assure you, they were so utterly and so intirely forgotten, that they were never so much as thought of; Did you ever hear of the Peoples ordaining their Parsons at the Reformation? Or of issuing out Writs for an Ecclesiastical Election? As for Feuds and Divisions, we have a great many 'tis true, but then I fancy the leaving every Man's Religion to his own Choice, would in Time procure us a great many more, unless you are very sure, that the Mob have but one more change left to make, and that is, to be all of one Mind.

P. Will those of the National Church be against me, for justifying its Constitution as to the Dependence of the Clergy?

T. For Dependencies, *Phil*, the Clergy like 'um very well, and would thank you for more of 'um: But what Man alive can have a tolerable Opinion of utter Extirpations? Such a Frolick as that, would most certainly spoil several of our Articles, most of our Homilies, some of our Prayers, many of our Holy-days, and one of our first Healths after Dinner.

P. Nay, *Tim*, if any one is against what I have said, he has an Opportunity of shewing his Parts: Let him produce his Reasons, and confute me.

T. No, No, *Phil*! 'Tis by no Means to be expected: Conviction is only for particular Friends and Favourites; Do you think every Fellow that writes Pamphlets, is to be answer'd

swer'd with Reason? I tell you 'tis not to be expected; There are Canes and Porters, there are Stocks and Pillories for your Ordinary Writers: What has the smart Fellow behind the Counter, who I can prove by the Original Design of his Parents that bred him, ought never to transgress the *Rule of Three*, or to go beyond Mr. *Hobbs's* Philosophy of Computation, what has he to do to write Reasons? What has he to do to make Systems, who was cut out for writing up only to the Price of a *Penny*? But thus it is, when one of these Pretenders, by Vertue of that common Perfection of Fools, a good Memory, rakes together from Libels and News-papers, a Huddle of indigested Stuff, which he hardly knows whether it be Civil or Ecclesiastical, consisting of Reflections, Remarks, Stories, Scandal, Tradition, and the stalest Jests that are to be had round *Covent-garden*, presently he brushes forth, and challenges People to answer and confute him, and that too, with sound Reasons and Arguments, things altogether Foreign to the Dispute; You must excuse us, *Phil*, the little Reason we have, we design to keep against a fitter Opportunity: If therefore you can provoke a few *Oxford* and *Cambridge* Jests, some Quibbles and Conundrums, and a Dozen or two of the freshest and most fashionable Metaphors from *Billingsgate*, 'tis giving you your own again, and the highest Favour that can be expected at our Hands.

P. Then I hope, the Laity will take me into their Protection, for endeavouring to rescue 'um from the Tyranny and Dominion of the Clergy.

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T. I profess I can see no Manner of Hopes for it: Could you help 'um to a General *Inhibition* against the Ecclesiastical Courts, or a Decree from the *Exchequer* for the total Suppression and Abolition of Tythes, something might be said: but at present, the Church is a very indulgent Mother to her Lay Children: They know if they pay no Tythes to the Parson, yet some less Orthodox Impropiator perhaps would quickly plead a Title to 'um, and not let his Neighbours such cheap Bargains as they had formerly: and tho' the Bishop should let 'um alone, and not trouble 'um for Fornication or Adultery, yet it may be the Constable and Tythingman would soon take up the Trade; Besides, the Clergy are very Useful in their Generations: They take our younger Children, and sometimes the Lame and the Blind, off our Hands: they make our little ones Scholars, and do what they can to hinder us, when we are grown up, from being Fools and Blockheads: They help the Parish to many a merry Bout, and many a comfortable Christning.

P. However no one can ever hinder me from enjoying that inward Satisfaction, which I find from a Sense of having done my Duty, and endeavour'd to restore that Angelical Wish of—*Glory to God in the Highest, and on Earth Peace, good Will towards Men!*

T. There's no doubt, *Phil*, but that *Effendi*, *Vaninus*, *Empedocles*, and he who fir'd *Diana's Temple*, had all their inward Satisfaction too, and you may have yours: Only I cannot but wish you would let us have a little outward Satisfaction, and keep the inward

to

to your self; You know, *Phil*, that Poets and Pamphleteers have their Privileges and Immunities, the Rights of *Fairy-land* and *Utopia*: you may lull your self into a Vision, like that of *Jacob* and the *Shepherds*, and in the Contemplation of your great Performance, call down a Quire of Angels, to entertain you with a *Magnificat*, or a *Gloria in Excelsis*: and after the very same Manner, I may shift the Scene to *Milton*, and salute you with the Congratulatory Speeches of *Ashtoroth*, *Moloch*, and *Ashmodeus*: But if you are real and sincere, and have a Mind truly to affect both *Cherubim* and *Seraphim*, and to Cause Joy in the Presence of the Angels, you are exactly qualify'd for it as a great Sinner, and may effectually bring it about by a hearty and sincere Repentance.

P. Well, *Tim*, I have spent the best Breath I have upon thee;—Hast thou done yet?— I think the small Remainder of a *Preface* that's behind, may be seasonably put off to another Opportunity, when thou art less upon the *Fret*, and more Gentle and Tractable.

T. And for a Remedy in those Cases, I know nothing like Divertisement and Innocent Recreation.—What think you of the *Puppet-show* this Evening?

P. Fy! Fy!—Trifles, *Tim*!—mere Trifles!

T. There will be *Adam* and *Eve*, and the *Serpent*: These are Novelties to you, and may perhaps do you Good.—Come!—I must have you!—

P. No, *Tim*!

T. Nay,

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T. Nay prithee don't be Superstitious: The Tinsel Figures of the Sultan and Sophi won't sweat, when you come into the Room; The Monarchs of that State are none of 'um Independent, or Irresistible: you may play the Don Quixote there most Heroically.

P. I shan't stir, Tim!

T. Why then, I'll get the best Speeches and newest Jest by Heart, and meet you to morrow at Fanny's.

P. Adieu, Tim!

T. Well, Tim, I have beat the bell Breath I have upon thee;—Halt thou done yet?—
I think the small Remains of a Picture to the End of the Second Volume.

T. And for a Remedy in those Cases, I know nothing like Divertissement and the
the Picture of this Evening?

P. I'll try!—Tim!—more

T. There will be Adam and Eve, and the

perhaps do you Good. Come!—I must

P. No, Tim, the Picture is drawn

T. Nay,

N A

ADVERTISEMENT.

OF THE

THE Reader is desired to take Notice, That the *Third* Volume of *Timothy and Philatens* is now in the Press, and will speedily be Published, Containing an Answer to the *Preface and Defences*, with several other Tracts. In which also a certain *Disaster* befallen the *Rights* is Accounted for and Justified.

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